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SIR JOHN SIMON'S BUDGET.

The Armaments Race Intensified—Taxable Capacity and National Credit—The Demand for Economy

A YEAR ago, in commenting on Mr. Chamberlain's sixth Budget, I pointed out the mischievous consequences of diverting a vast volume of industrial energy into unproductive channels. I prophesied that the fictitious prosperity of an artificial boom caused by enormous Government orders for armaments would be "temporary and disastrous"; I referred to the havoc wrought within a week or two by the Budget on the Stock Exchange; I dwelt on the increasing extravagance of public departments and the general laxity in regard to public money which prevails not only among Ministers but among Members of the House of Commons, who have raised their own salaries from £400 to £600 a year, while they have raised the income tax from 4s. 6d. to 5s. 6d. (standard rate) besides clapping the equivalent of another shilling on business profits.

As the financial situation and the business outlook—judged by trade reports and unemployment returns—are much worse in May 1938 than they were in May 1937, and as taxation and debt are still rising with armaments at an accelerated rate, I cannot pretend that the provisions of Sir John Simon's Budget (presented on April 26th) are calculated to relieve the prevailing pessimism. On the contrary, the best feature of the Budget is its candour in acquainting Parliament and the public with economic realities and with the financial results of the Government's policy. It was hoped, I think, by most of his supporters that in view of the relatively good results of last year's Budget Sir John Simon would have felt able to abstain from any further additions to taxation. In last year's financial statement Mr. Chamberlain announced that he would borrow £80 millions for armaments, and having removed that load from his Budget he counted on a revenue of £863 millions, leaving a small prospective surplus. He also provided a tax on business profits, which would expand so

much that it would be unnecessary, he hoped, to add further to taxation even though the cost of armaments would rise. In two respects Mr. Chamberlain's Budget turned out to be much better than he had anticipated. In round figures the revenue amounted to £872 millions and the ordinary expenditure to only £843 millions, leaving a surplus of nearly £29 millions. Secondly, of the £80 millions borrowed for expenditure on armaments, only £65 millions were spent, so that here also there was a surplus (or rather a reduced deficit) of £15 millions. As a result of these two improvements the real deficit on the financial year which ended March 31st was not £80 millions but only about £37 millions. Therefore, argued the optimists before the Budget, there was an unused borrowing from last year which would cover an anticipated deficit for the current financial year of about £30 millions.

In approaching this problem—the real problem of his Budget—Sir John Simon referred to the National Debt. Last July Parliament authorised an addition of no less than £200 millions to increase the resources of the Exchange Equalisation Account. Against this, of course, gold and other assets are held, and the Account still shows a profit, though what that profit is and how it is arrived at we are not informed. Speaking of the National Debt as a whole the Chancellor said: "Allowing for the application of about £10,500,000 to the contractual Sinking Funds, the net increase in the Debt is £257,750,000 nominal, of which £203,000,000 is covered by assets." But for technical reasons, which he explained, last year's increase of the Debt shown in the published accounts is only £229 millions nominal, or £26 millions in reality. He added that he has decided to raise the Fixed Debt Charge, which has stood at £224 millions for the last five years, to £230 millions, an act of prudence which will certainly be approved in view of the growth of interest on the long-term debt and a possible increase in the cost of Treasury bills.

Before coming to the main question, the Chancellor described several new devices for preventing evasions of income tax, from which however he does not anticipate very much additional revenue. Then came the usual survey of the yields which were to be expected from existing taxation. I need not enter into particulars. Unless there is a severe slump in trade, the total estimated revenue of £914 millions on the basis of existing taxation seems reasonably cautious.

If the estimates had been no higher than last year there would have been a very large surplus which would have absolved the Chancellor from the duty of increasing taxation. Unfortunately the cost of the three Defence Services, in so far as they are paid for out of revenue, has been raised to £253 millions, which is £55 millions more than last year, and the expenditure on the Civil Votes has been raised to £439 millions, which is £20 millions more than last year's Budget Estimates. The total Defence expenditure, including £90 millions borrowed, is over £343 millions, and is likely to be raised by supplementary estimates due to a further acceleration of armaments. In consequence of these enormous additions to expenditure the estimated revenue of £914 millions fell short of the estimated expenditure by £30 millions, leaving a prospective deficit of £30 millions; and the gap had to be closed by resorting either to fresh taxation or to further borrowing, or by a compromise between the two.

I have already remarked that the best feature of the Budget was its candour. In discussing the deficit Sir John Simon reminded the House that the Budget was already unbalanced to the tune of £90 millions. That was the real deficit. The gap therefore was not £30 millions but £120 millions. The Government had already decided that the £90 millions should be borrowed, and secondly it had already announced its intention of accelerating rearmament and increasing the production of munitions. That would mean more supplementary estimates for Defence, and these would be met by further borrowing. Thirdly, looking forward to next year, it is anticipated that there will be another increase in expenditure on armaments, and that the total expenditure for five years will exceed the original estimate of £1,500 millions. Even when the peak has been passed, the cost of maintenance and replacements will be substantially higher, and there will also be an increased charge for debt. The passage in which, after stating these three considerations, Sir John Simon announced his conclusion, deserves to be quoted:

> Nothing would contribute so much to the ultimate reduction of the burden as the increase of international good-will and the general reduction of armaments which would flow from it. The policy which we are pursuing—the actual achievement of the Anglo-Italian Agreement is a striking and encouraging example—

> is aimed at this end. But until the end is more fully achieved, we are bound to pursue the plan of rearmament which we announced and which the country has so generally approved. In these circumstances, I have had to meditate long and anxiously to decide whether I should be justified in taking what for the moment, but perhaps only for the moment, would be the easier course of covering this £30,000,000 by loan money. I have come to the conclusion that I should not be doing my duty if I followed that easier course.

Seeing then that expenditure has mounted and is still mounting, we ought to reduce our future difficulties, assist our further borrowing, and "show the world that this country does not quail" by filling the £30 million gap with extra taxation.

I agree that the course adopted, though bad, was better than the easier course of borrowing. If the Opposition had done its duty on the Estimates, and had been supported, as it probably would have been, by a substantial minority of Conservative Members, the £30 millions could have been saved without loss to efficiency, by cutting down needless extravagances and wholly unnecessary additions to national expenditure. Taking only the last two years, how can it be argued that it was indispensable to double the cost of the Foreign Office, to add more than a million to the expenditure of the Ministry of Agriculture, and another million to the Colonial Services, or seven hundred thousand to public buildings in Great Britain, another hundred thousand to public buildings overseas, nine hundred thousand to stationery and printing, and seventy thousand to Royal parks and gardens in years of desperate emergency? I say nothing of the reports that the country is not getting value for its money in many branches of expenditure on the Defence Services. The pity of it is that the House of Commons has neglected its duty to taxpayers. There has been little or no effective criticism of the Estimates and therefore no encouragement to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the exercise of Treasury control. I dare say the Treasury watchdogs have barked at intervals; but it is quite certain from the record of the last two years that they have not bitten. The old Roman maxim that a great revenue is to be found in economy was proved after the war, when the income tax was reduced from six to four shillings in the pound with corresponding relief to taxes on consumption; and it has

never been truer or more applicable than to-day. I had hoped that, when the Government accepted Captain Balfour's economy resolution on February 8th, it meant that a brake was to be applied to expenditure, and that at last the social evils of excessive taxation were to be recognised and as far as possible remedied. Captain Balfour's resolution ran :

> This House, while recognising the great measure of economic recovery and social progress achieved during the last five years, and the exceptional expenditure entailed by the necessity for rearmament, views with concern the continued growth of expenditure by the Central Government and by local authorities, and is of opinion that His Majesty's Government should do everything in their power to lighten the burdens imposed on all classes of taxpayers and ratepayers.

Sir John Simon did not even mention the word economy in the whole course of his financial statement, and as yet we have to learn whether the Government has done, or is doing, anything " to lighten the burdens imposed on all classes of taxpayers and ratepayers." That the Labour Party should have voted against a resolution for reducing taxes and rates by means of economy (the only possible method) was to be expected ; but I must confess to surprise and dismay that the same course was adopted by the Liberal Opposition, though I can understand their refusal to recognise " the great measure of economic recovery and social progress " achieved since a Customs tariff was imposed on practically all imports. What Liberals who have been brought up in the Lloyd George school of economics fail to recognise is that wasteful expenditure, high taxation, unbalanced budgets and enormous debts, are social evils which depress business, promote unemployment and threaten public insolvency. A time will come, I feel sure, when the independent Liberal Party will have to revert to Gladstonian principles or sink into the position of being a mere appendage, a despised and ineffective Right Wing, of the Labour Party.

Having decided to tax, the Chancellor of the Exchequer rightly decided to avoid vexatious novelties. Last year's experiment with the business tax has not been encouraging ; an increase of the protective duties, besides reducing our foreign trade, might result in a loss of revenue ; so he decided to rely on three existing taxes. By raising the standard rate of

income tax by sixpence to five shillings and sixpence in the pound, with certain concessions to small incomes and an increased deduction for machinery and plant under Schedule D, he will get over £22 millions this year and over £26 millions in a full year. By adding one penny per gallon to petrol and to heavy oil used for road transport, as well as to power alcohol, he expects only £350,000 in the current year. Thirdly, an addition of twopence per pound on all tea, Empire and foreign, will bring him in this year £2,750,000, and in a full year £3,250,000. The principle that all citizens, rich and poor, should contribute something to the defence of democracy, seeing that practically all their representatives in Parliament have voted for rearmament, has thus been acknowledged and carried into effect in a simple and intelligible way. The shock which has thus been administered to the people's representatives should be salutary.

Nobody who heard and nobody who has read the Budget statement can any longer be in doubt that unpopular taxation attends on popular extravagance, or that the unbalanced budgets with which the National Government is winding up its career will prove as disastrous as those which it was created to overcome. But there is at least one ray of hope in the reiterated statements of the Chancellor that " this necessary outlay on rearmament is being accompanied by an active policy for promoting reconciliation and good-will with other nations." We cannot expect other nations to accept the British formula that our armaments promote peace while theirs promote war ; but we can perhaps get them to agree that the mad competition in armaments, or rearmament, is leading to insolvency and general ruin.

In the House of Commons the Financial Statement was listened to in glum silence. It was received with rather gloomy acquiescence by *The Times* and *Daily Telegraph*. The *Daily Express* shouted disapproval, and the *Daily Herald* was as angry as the Labour leaders that any working man should be asked to contribute a penny or twopence a week to the defence of the country. Strange to say, the *Daily Mail* and the *News Chronicle* agreed in commending the Budget. The *Manchester Guardian* admired its " simplicity and severity," adding truly enough that " the financial picture the Chancellor presents is a desperate one and calls for desperate remedies." The City Editor of the *Evening Standard*

called it an " honest old fashioned Budget " which would give confidence. " The Chancellor, however, did not mention the word economy in his whole address. The word has gone into disrepute but it will come back again one day." The *Star* described it as a grim Budget with a bleak East wind blowing through it ; " but it is a fair Budget with one or two exceptions ; and we think the country will accept it."

Shortly before the Budget an ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Horne, who after the war knocked a shilling off the income tax, pleaded on various grounds for borrowing the whole deficit. He and others argued correctly enough that a taxable reserve should be maintained against the contingency of war. For this reason a low rate of income tax was always deemed an essential element in our financial system. In 1875 it was reduced to twopence in the pound by Disraeli's administration. In 1913 the standard rate was fourteen pence. The war raised it to six shillings, and at the same time multiplied the National Debt elevenfold. The cost of the debt service alone is now more than the whole cost of Government in 1913. In commenting on these facts, Dr. Pollard has observed in a letter to *The Times* that " the next war, if it resembled the last, would by a much smaller increase of income tax deprive every man and woman in the country of all income except the allowances conceded by the Chancellor of the Exchequer," and added : " another war like the last bids fair to turn the whole world communist." Labour members, who want to finance costly schemes of what they call social welfare and armaments for an anti-Fascist crusade by " soaking the rich," ignore the fact that comparatively few millions could be obtained by regraduating a surtax which already takes nearly fourteen shillings in the pound from the highest incomes. But while it is true that the reserves of taxable capacity have been dangerously depleted, it is equally true that the reserves of borrowing capacity have been reduced as much. Sir John Simon is at least extracting enough new money from the taxpayers to provide interest and sinking fund on the four or five hundred millions which the Government is planning to borrow for rearmament.

A perusal of the Budget debates is not encouraging. Though many of the comments were instructive, the only important member of the House who stated effectively any part of the case for economy was Sir Archibald Sinclair. He reminded

the House that two years ago our naval predominance in Europe was greater than in 1914. Yet in the scramble for armaments the Admiralty has actually contrived to double our naval expenditure. He also supported Mr. Stokes, the new Member for Ipswich, who has made practical proposals for diminishing waste and profiteering in the air service ; and finally he urged the appointment of a committee on national expenditure which might save millions of pounds. Mr. Hely-Hutchinson poured contempt upon economy, declaring that "no major economies are politically possible," but having proved this to his own satisfaction he asked how the country with taxation at a war-time level is to finance another major war, and left the conundrum to a House of Commons which as he has discovered "is not interested in finance." Another Conservative member, Mr. Loftus, showed an unusual insight into the new protective and monopolistic system under which cartels and other combinations are fixing prices and fleecing consumers with the assistance of the Government and of the tariff board. He said :

> We have to recognise that the old political economy founded by Adam Smith is dead. . . . It was based on flexible prices, flexible rates of interest, flexible wages ; and at the cost of a good deal of hardship and injustice it did function. It did automatically correct excess production and under-production. It did more or less automatically increase national production and utilise labour and capital ; but it is dead to-day and it is dead for these reasons.
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> In the first place we have no longer flexible prices. . . . There are the old flexible prices in such things as textiles and agricultural produce ; but the modern corporation has established a system of inflexible prices in certain manufacturing industries. Instead of reducing prices they reduce production. . . . During the slump in America makers of agricultural implements reduced production by 80 per cent., but reduced prices by only 15 per cent., while makers of cement reduced production by 65 per cent. and prices by only 17 per cent. On the other hand prices of textiles dropped by 45 per cent. and agricultural prices by 65 per cent.

Here we have a part of the story which explains the present depression of British textiles and many other staple industries including British agriculture. Under the protective system, monopolies like the steel cartel have grown up. Free markets have been restricted or abolished. Many manufacturers are victimised, and the whole body of consumers is mulcted by

a tariff which provides little revenue in comparison with the burdens it imposes. From this situation the only escape is that which was adopted by Peel and Gladstone more than ninety years ago—a restoration of Free Trade.

Sir Waldron Smithers, a member of the Stock Exchange—which after a year of heavy losses is one of our most peaceful institutions—congratulated the Chancellor on having produced a good sound Treasury Budget, with taxes easy to collect for which no new bureaucrats would have to be invented. He was followed by Mr. Richards who, like Sir Arthur Salter, pointed out that money spent on armaments does not produce a saleable commodity. It diverts energy and capital from industrial production and raises the price of useful commodities. Borrowing affords no escape from this evil. Sir Arthur Salter put the scientific argument for taxation as against borrowing better than anyone else. Expenditure on armaments, he said, is not in any real sense capital expenditure. The things bought—guns, aeroplanes, etc.—do not represent any revenue-producing asset. On the contrary, their existence involves increased expenditure for maintenance, and even if a sinking fund is attached to the loan they are obsolete long before the loan has been redeemed. Sir Arthur is to be congratulated on having persuaded the Government to include among its defence measures a provision for the storage of food supplies instead of relying merely upon the Navy. He has demonstrated that for less than 5 per cent. of the cost of the Navy the country could be insured against famine for a year. It would seem from the Chancellor's statement that a considerable provision has already been made by secret and effective purchases of wheat, sugar and whale oil. It is to be hoped that this policy will be followed and judiciously extended. Still more is it to be hoped that the Government will listen to Sir Arthur Salter's sage and sound advice to consider the whole problem of appeasement and make sure that any advantages and opportunities resulting from our own rearmament shall be so used in negotiations with other Powers as to secure a limitation of armaments and if possible an agreement to abolish altogether the infamous practice of air bombardment.

FRANCIS W. HIRST.

THE ITALIAN AGREEMENT AND AFTER.

ON April 16th last there was signed in Rome an agreement between the Italian and British Governments which may be proved by future developments to have been a landmark in the general relationships of the European Great Powers. As a diplomatic transaction it was interesting as giving us still another illustration of the fact that the actual content of treaties, pacts or other forms of agreement is often of less importance than the feelings they canalise. In this case it would not be easy to say precisely what practical problems needed to be solved, nor what practical arrangements of any consequence were in fact made by the agreement. Moreover, the agreement itself is not to come into " operation " until such time as certain conditions relative to the war in Spain have been fulfilled. Yet in its diplomatic consequence the agreement did begin to operate at once. The fact is that wars spring from persistent bad feeling rather than from tangible difficulties or problems. When problems are conditioned by good feeling, they are easy to solve, or even disappear. During the past two years, although British opinion has been badly split in its feelings about Italy, most people would agree that what poisoned Italo-British relations and even insinuated the sinister fear of war was not a firm or diagnosable issue in rival interests, but an emotional sense of resentment and moral indignation. The resentment and the indignation were mutual; while many people in Great Britain deeply resented Italy's conquest of Abyssinia and her defection from the League of Nations, still more people in Italy resented what they genuinely regarded as British hypocrisy about colonial conquest. The moral differentiation that was made between colonial conquest done before, and that done after, the establishment of the League of Nations had none but an irritant effect upon Italian opinion.

Little is to be gained by raking up the past bitterness felt on both sides. By the autumn of 1936 that bitterness was so strong that the possibility even of war was present in many minds. That was why the two Governments on January 2nd, 1937, signed what came to be known as the Gentlemen's Agreement whose only object was to dispel suspicions and misunderstandings. Tempers being still too raw, that agreement

failed of its purpose. Indeed, the mutual mistrust was rather intensified. Last July another attempt of the like kind was made on Signor Mussolini's initiative. He sent a friendly message to Mr. Chamberlain, who responded to it by suggesting that the two Governments should engage in conversations with a view to improving the relationship. Again the project went wrong. In the autumn of last year what may be called the Nyon phase of antagonism, arising out of the Mediterranean " piracy " and the Spanish war, made any such conversations impossible, and the mutual recriminations grew in volume. On December 11th last the cleavage seemed to be symbolised by the Italian Government's announcing its decision to secede from the League of Nations.

But the third attempt succeeded. On February 21st last Mr. Chamberlain announced the intention of the British Government to begin, not conversations, but negotiations, with the Italian Government with a view to reaching a formal agreement on outstanding causes of ill feeling. Lord Perth, the British Ambassador, conducted the substantial negotiations in Rome with Count Ciano, the Italian Foreign Minister. The Foreign Office in London sent Mr. George Rendel, Head of the Southern Department, to help in the expert details, more particularly in relation to the Middle East, of which his knowledge is probably unrivalled. After two months of negotiation the agreement was duly formulated. There can be no doubt that Herr Hitler in this instance indirectly did his bit to encourage a work of appeasement. By effecting the *Anschluss* with Austria on March 12th he gave an incentive to Signor Mussolini to see that the Anglo-Italian agreement was signed, sealed and delivered before Herr Hitler visited Rome at the beginning of May. High diplomacy works on much the same principles of " power politics " as most other manifestations of nature in the raw. If Herr Hitler had conquered new fields, why so had Signor Mussolini.

What, then, exactly did the British and Italian Governments agree about on April 16th ? Still more precisely, when is the agreement in its practical sense to come into operation at all ? No settled indication was given (nor in the circumstances could be given) in the texts issued on April 16th as to when the provisions therein made were to operate. It was reserved for the two Governments subsequently to decide that date (" The said instruments shall take effect on such

date as the two Governments shall together determine"). From the instruments themselves it followed that the Governments would be guided in their decision on the one hand by the Italian pledge (1) to accept the British plan of proportional evacuation of the foreign troops from Spain and (2) not to leave any troops nor to entertain any political designs upon any Spanish territory; and on the other hand by the British postulate that "a settlement of the Spanish question" be a pre-requisite of the entry into force of the agreement.

It follows that the agreement will come into force either when the war in Spain is over and Italian evacuation is complete, or when Italian evacuation is complete, whether the war is over or not. That seems to be the logical deduction from the actual wording of the texts. But logic perhaps is not necessarily decisive. When the agreement was submitted for approval to the House of Commons on May 2nd Mr. Chamberlain, referring to the proposed recognition of Italian East Africa, said: "The justification for recognition *de jure* would be that it was an essential factor in getting back to a general appeasement. I do not think that we could feel that we had got back, or that we were taking steps towards general appeasement, unless at the same time we could see that a Spanish settlement was within reach. That is the reason why we have made this Spanish settlement a pre-requisite of the entry into force of this instrument and a pre-requisite therefore of the recognition of the Italian conquest." Mr. Attlee asked: "What does the right hon. gentleman mean by a settlement?" Mr. Chamberlain answered: "I prefer not to give a definition of it. At this stage it would be wrong to try to define the circumstances in which one could say that a settlement had been arrived at. It may be that later on we shall get nearer the time when we can give a definition."

From the beginning of his attempt to make an agreement with Signor Mussolini, Mr. Chamberlain has based his defence —for an arrangement designed to substitute good-will for ill-will had in this case to be defended at the bar of British opinion—on the simple argument that the only hope of averting general war was to cultivate general peace and that the Anglo-Italian agreement was a step towards general peace. His equally simple premise was that general peace was preferable to general war, if war at almost any price could be

averted. " There are no winners in war," he has said. Indeed, on May 2nd he went so far as to state roundly : " For my own part I repudiate the idea that it is impossible for democracies to come to terms and to understandings with States where authoritarian ideas prevail."

The agreement was designed to cover the whole ground of Anglo-Italian relations in the Mediterranean, the North East corner of Africa and the Middle East. It contained four separate but correlated sections. There was a protocol and eight annexes ; an exchange of notes ; a *bon voisinage* agreement to which Egypt was a party so far as her interests were affected ; and an exchange of notes between Lord Perth and Count Ciano on the one hand and the Egyptian Minister in Rome on the other of which the effect was to associate Egypt with the two declarations in the main agreement which dealt with Lake Tsana and the Suez Canal.

The Protocol itself in general terms affirmed " the desire to place the relations between the two countries on a solid and lasting basis and to contribute to the general cause of peace and security." It prescribed that when the instruments had come into force negotiations would be begun to try and arrive at certain definite agreements about the boundaries between the Sudan, Kenya and British Somaliland on the one side and Italian East Africa on the other, and about other matters such as trade.

The first annex reaffirmed the declaration signed in Rome on January 2nd, 1937, regarding the Mediterranean and the Notes exchanged between the two Governments on December 31st last regarding the *status quo* in the Western Mediterranean. The second annex provided for an exchange of information about any major prospective administrative movements or redistribution of naval, military and air forces in the overseas territories in or bordering upon the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, or the Gulf of Aden, or in Egypt, the Sudan, Italian East Africa, British Somaliland, Kenya, Uganda or the northern part of Tanganyika. That arrangement certainly ought to prevent the type of mischievous suspicion based upon a misrepresentation of the facts, such as indeed has been one of the fruitful sources of evil.

The third annex ought to give particular satisfaction to the more imperially-minded Britons—from which category ironically enough one cannot exclude those Britons who most

deeply resented the more recent achievements of the imperially-minded Italians. It dealt with certain areas in the Middle East, in a way eminently sympathetic to British strategic interests rather than, indeed in rivalry to, those of Italy. The two Governments bound themselves to respect the independence and integrity of Saudi Arabia and the Yemen, and agreed that it was to their common interest that no third party should interfere with such independence and integrity. They further agreed about certain islands in the Red Sea and about British and Italian rights in certain parts of Southern Arabia which for a long time have been under the " protection " of the British Government, particularly in the Aden Protectorate, where certain rights were now guaranteed to Italy.

The fourth annex disposed of the somewhat silly matter of propaganda—a form of mutual mischief which merely symbolised the bad relationship and which was automatically disposed of when the relationship improved. None the less the two Governments formally and solemnly assured each other that they would stop saying unpleasant things about each other.

The fifth annex in its turn made good reading for the British imperialists aforesaid. By it the Italian Government " were fully conscious of their obligations towards the Government of the United Kingdom in the matter of Lake Tsana and had no intention whatever of overlooking or repudiating them." In other words Great Britain after all is to have her share of the spoils. Before Italy annexed Abyssinia it had been agreed by the two Governments that Italy should have an economic sphere in the south of Abyssinia and that Great Britain should have the waters of Lake Tsana, for the exclusive benefit of Egypt. Before the war in Abyssinia started the British Government had already received the competing tenders for the barrage works to be constructed at Lake Tsana. Those tenders may now be taken from the files in readiness for use when the present Anglo-Italian agreement begins to operate. The British and Italian Governments had not, it is true, simply or crudely agreed to give each other something that belonged to Abyssinia. They were more correct. They each undertook to invite the Emperor of Abyssinia to give the other what she wanted ; invited him, that is to say, to exercise his sovereign independence by doing voluntarily what

they asked him to do ; and they were so confident that he would do it that they made their agreement and divided the spoils before asking him. Of course the bargain had now to be reshaped. There was no longer an Emperor of Abyssinia. Italy had got what she wanted, and more. She had incidentally got the waters of Lake Tsana. What, therefore, she did in the agreement of April 16th was to promise the British Government that it should still have the waters of Lake Tsana.

The sixth and seventh annexes reaffirmed Italy's assurance to the League of Nations that the Abyssinian natives should not be compelled to undertake military duties except those of local policing and territorial defence, and added an assurance that there should be a free exercise of religion in Italian East Africa. The eighth and last annex reaffirmed the two Governments' intention always to abide by the provisions of the Convention of October 1888, which guaranteed at all times and for all Powers the free use of the Suez Canal. The subject of Palestine was not included in the formal annexes, but the Italian Government gave a verbal assurance that it would not create difficulties or embarrassments for the British Government in its administration of Palestine.

The second section of the agreement consisted of three exchanges of Notes. By the first exchange Count Ciano informed Lord Perth that the Italian Government had given orders for a diminution of the forces in Libya, that withdrawals had already begun at the rate of 1,000 a week and would continue at that rate until they had been reduced to peace strength. Mathematically that promise involved the halving of the forces stationed in Libya, as measured by their strength when the negotiations began in February. The third exchange of Notes gave an Italian promise to accede to the naval Treaty of London as soon as the present agreement came into force and a further promise in the meantime to act in conformity with the provisions of that Treaty. The second exchange of Notes dealt with the question of Spain and the recognition of Italian East Africa. Count Ciano made these promises : " Your Excellency will remember that, in the course of our recent conversations, I gave your Excellency certain assurances regarding the policy of the Italian Government in connection with Spain. I now wish to reaffirm those assurances and to place them on record. First, the Italian Government have the honour to confirm their full adherence

to the United Kingdom formula for the proportional evacuation of the foreign volunteers from Spain, and pledge themselves to give practical and real application to such an evacuation at the moment and on the conditions which shall be determined by the Non-Intervention Committee on the basis of the above-mentioned formula. I desire secondly to reaffirm that if this evacuation has not been completed at the moment of the termination of the Spanish civil war all remaining Italian volunteers will forthwith leave Spanish territory and all Italian war material will simultaneously be withdrawn. I wish thirdly to repeat my previous assurance that the Italian Government have no territorial or political aims, and seek no privileged economic position, in or with regard to either metropolitan Spain, the Balearic Islands, or any of the Spanish possessions overseas, or the Spanish zone of Morocco, and that they have no intention whatever of keeping any armed forces in any of the said territories."

It was in acknowledging that Note that Lord Perth reminded Count Ciano that "His Majesty's Government regard the settlement of the Spanish question as a prerequisite of the entry into force of the agreement between our two Governments." In the same Note Lord Perth gave the British undertaking about Abyssinia and the League of Nations. The exact wording of that undertaking ran thus: "I have further the honour to inform your Excellency that His Majesty's Government being desirous that such obstacles as may at present be held to impede the freedom of member States as regards recognition of Italian sovereignty over Ethiopia should be removed, intend to take steps at the forthcoming meeting of the Council of the League of Nations for the purpose of clarifying the situation of member States in this regard."

Mr. Chamberlain elaborated the meaning of that Note on May 2nd when he said in the House of Commons: "Let me make one or two points clear. First of all our action does not mean that we condone or that we approve the methods by which Italy obtained control of Abyssinia. Secondly, it does not mean that we are going to ask the League to modify any resolution or any decision which it took during the period of the conquest. The League has expressed its judgment on the whole affair in the plainest possible terms, and there will be no going back on that. In the third place, we do not intend

to ask any other State to take any action which they might deem incompatible with their obligations. There is something further. Neither any action which we have taken, nor any action which we may ask the Council to take in itself constitutes recognition. It neither binds us nor anyone else to recognition. The act of recognition remains within the sovereign rights of each individual State. In other words, in so far as this country is concerned the time and circumstances of recognition remain within our own discretion. I have always maintained myself, and many I think agree with me, that the only circumstances in which recognition could be morally justified would be if it were shown to be an essential feature of a general appeasement. That is the position of the Government to-day." The *bon voisinage* arrangement which constituted the third section of the agreement was designed to prevent the evasion of anti-slavery laws during the interim period between the signing of the main instrument and the completion of negotiations dealing with the specific East African matter referred to in the Protocol mentioned above. It provided for co-operation in that sense between the British, Egyptian and Italian Governments.

How far the conclusion of the Anglo-Italian accord was likely to affect the now long-standing cleavage of Europe into its two camps, that of the so-called democratic and that of the so-called dictatorship states, became an immediate subject of speculation. Hardly was the ink dry on the signatures than M. Daladier the Prime Minister of France and his Foreign Minister M. Bonnet came to London to consult with Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Halifax. They arrived on April 27th and stayed two days. Immediately thereafter M. Blondel, the French Chargé d'Affaires, began in Rome the negotiation with Count Ciano of a parallel Franco-Italian agreement.

High diplomacy had indeed started to stage one of its spectacular bouts of activity. Mr. Roosevelt, on April 19th, had publicly given his blessing to the Anglo-Italian agreement by emphasising America's " sympathetic interest " in what he called this " proof of the value of peaceful negotiations." On May 2nd Herr Hitler set out from Berlin to Rome. On May 9th the League of Nations Council met in Geneva to pave the way—on a British initiative, supported by France—for a general recognition of Italian East Africa, by the method hinted at by Mr. Chamberlain on May 2nd. The Daladier

visit to London on April 27th and the Hitler visit to Rome on May 2nd both obviously constituted a conscious contribution to the renewed movement in high diplomacy that had been started by the German-Austrian *Anschluss* on March 12th and the Anglo-Italian agreement on April 16th.

In both cases no public disclosure was made of what took place. A colourless official communication was issued on April 29th after the Daladier-Bonnet visit, recording simply that " the two Governments decided to continue as might be necessary the contacts between their General Staffs reached in London on March 19th, 1936." The important new thing implied, but not expressed, in that statement, was that Great Britain and France had decided now to include their air forces in the scope of the co-ordinated military plans, before confined to the army and the navy. The question of the unified command in the air was not raised, for the simple reason that nothing was to be gained by raising it now. If the hypothetical emergency should ever arise—which God forbid!—that question would at once arise and would at once be decided. What was involved in the Staff talks now to be begun without delay was the pooling of air force resources in craft, bases and supplies. Food supplies, oil and other material attributes of war equipment were also included in the new co-ordinated plans. But not finance. During the two days' talks no mention was made on either side of any contemplated financial arrangement. The financial experience of the last great war is perhaps too vividly remembered for the soreness to have yet worn off. But apart from finance we were for the first time presented with the settled prospect, in the event of war, of a joint Anglo-French military organisation.

On the political side the consideration that was present in all minds was the uncertainty surrounding the position of Czechoslovakia. That small country had become the very centre and focus of the diplomacy that now engrossed the five European Great Powers—Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany and Russia. The official statement issued in London on April 29th merely declared that the two Governments " found themselves in general agreement on the action that might most usefully be taken to find the basis of a peaceful and equitable settlement " of the Central European problem. The word " action " did not, of course, imply any new commitment on the part of the British Government. It referred to

diplomatic action. More precisely it became known that what it implied was that the French Government had undertaken to urge upon President Beneš and Dr. Hodža the expediency of making still further concessions to the Sudeten Germans while the British Government had undertaken to urge upon the German Government an answering spirit of conciliation.

What Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini were saying to each other on May 7th at the end of a week of gigantic celebrations in Rome, though for the most part colourless, did reveal one interesting thing. The Duce in his speech confined himself to generalities about " the unchangeable friendship of our two peoples." The Führer went further. After placing some emphasis on the conception that " there has been created in Europe a *bloc* of 120,000,000 people [that is of Germany, Austria and Italy] who are resolved to safeguard their eternal right to live and to defend themselves against all forces which might venture to oppose their natural development " (a somewhat obvious point for him to make in the circumstances) he went on to speak of the Brenner. " Now that we have become immediate neighbours," he said, " taught by the experience of 2,000 years we both acknowledge those natural frontiers which Providence and history have visibly drawn between our two peoples." He gave this pledge : " It is my irrevocable will and my bequest to the German people that the frontier of the Alps, which Nature has erected between us, shall be regarded for ever as unchangeable." The ardour of Herr Hitler's words, his ostentatious presentation to the world of the " 120,000,000 people," his pledge to Italy about the frontier, were the clearly intended answer to the Anglo-Italian agreement and to the Franco-Italian conversations. Did he mean that he thereby forswore his claim to the Germans of South Tyrol ? At this stage it perhaps does not matter whether he had such an intention. What is more interesting is to notice the contrast between the spirit of what the two leaders said. Herr Hitler spoke of his Central European *bloc*, determined to defend itself *against* a body of enemies not specified. Signor Mussolini said : " Germany and Italy have turned their backs on the Utopias to which Europe had blindly entrusted her fate in order to seek between them *and with others* a régime of international comity which may restore *equally for all* more effective guarantees of security, and peace " (my italics).

Within a few weeks of the German-Austrian *Anschluss* Europe was presented with a spectacle of diplomatic activity in which these were the main elements : (1) Great Britain and Italy reached an agreement which put an end to more than two years of antagonism ; (2) France and Italy were negotiating a similar agreement with every prospect of success ; (3) the League of Nations, under the joint leadership of Great Britain and France, was formulating the position that League members were free, without disloyalty to the League, to recognise Italian East Africa as a step towards the general appeasement of Europe ; (4) Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini were toasting each other in Rome, protesting to each other the continuing solidarity of the Rome-Berlin axis, but with the difference that the former gave it a belligerent value, whereas the latter featured it as a stepping-stone to general conciliation ; (5) Great Britain and France were urging upon Prague the granting of the fullest possible concessions to the Sudeten Germans in order to avoid a possible emergency such as might threaten the general peace of Europe.

To this recital must be added the fact (which was not public but for which there was adequate evidence of a more private kind) that Signor Mussolini in Rome had refused a commitment to Herr Hitler to fight on Germany's side in the event of a German coup in Czechoslovakia leading to general war, but had undertaken to be neutral in the event of the Czechoslovak problem solving itself in Germany's favour by internal evolution. What deductions are to be drawn ? It is clear that the vast accession to German power achieved through the *Anschluss* had necessarily modified Signor Mussolini's general policy, not only because a German *Mitteleuropa* had thereby become a fact and Italy's ambitions in Central Europe by the same token frustrated, but also because in the eyes of the world (an important consideration for the prestige of dictators) the balance of the axis had shifted in a way that made Berlin more, and Rome therefore less, important to it.

The remaining uncertainty was the future of Czechoslovakia and its possible effect upon the peace of Europe. There were many realist students of affairs in London and in Paris alike who now recognised that the peace of Europe depended almost wholly upon Herr Hitler's policy in the next few

months. There was on the one hand an apparent issue between Germany's case, that it was impossible for the Prague Government to satisfy the Sudeten Germans so long as it maintained an alliance with Russia, which logically postulated the possible contingency of the Sudeten Germans marching against the Germans of the Reich, and the case argued by certain thinkers in Paris, London, Prague and Moscow, that if there was to be a war in Europe, it would inevitably be the same old war as before, in which case the existing alliances might just as well be maintained for what they were worth. On the other hand it was regarded as probable even by those same students of affairs that the accomplished fact of a German *Mitteleuropa*, with Hungary certainly as an ally and with the resultant certainty of a surrounded Czechoslovakia being in an economic sense at the mercy of that grouping, would lead to the inclusion of Czechoslovakia itself within that grouping. There was at any rate the possibility that in the very spirit of self-preservation Czechoslovakia might be driven into that group. If such a thing were to happen then the Czechoslovak alliances with Russia and France would automatically lapse by a process of natural decay, for Czechoslovakia herself would neither need nor want them.

If, therefore, Herr Hitler were content to allow the natural forces now afoot to lead to their own probable end, the end would be reached without war. If on the other hand Herr Hitler had now become so insensitive to any consideration except that of the armed power of Germany, and had become so attracted by the method of spectacular action as distinct from the quiet evolution of logic as the means to his end, then there would be war. As terrible a responsibility rested upon Herr Hitler as ever rested upon any individual in the history of the world. Was it conceivable that he would deliberately invite the combined hostility in active war of Great Britain, France, Czechoslovakia, Russia—and Italy ?—in order to achieve certain objects which he was much more likely to achieve if he left events to work themselves out in peace ?

GEORGE GLASGOW.

May 12th, 1938.

SPAIN IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS.

> By foreign aid, and mainly by foreign aid, he (General Franco) will be the victor. His vanquished fellow-countrymen will lie prostrate beneath his feet.—Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, P.C., M.P., *Evening Standard*, April 5th.
>
> This is a peculiar war. One side has no men: the other side has no arms.—*Daily Telegraph*, April 20th.

THE war in Spain has been described as the preliminary manœuvres for strategic position preceding the launching of a final knock-out offensive. Perhaps it is not necessary to recapitulate at length the strategic importance of Spain. The British fleet recently carried out exercises off the north-west coast to test the possibilities of protecting convoys of merchant ships from air attack. The density of British shipping is greater here than in any other part of the world. Similarly, the loss to our merchant shipping during the Great War, due to submarines, was greatest in the Mediterranean, that happy hunting-ground for submarines; and whether the harbour at Gibraltar would be tenable in the event of a hostile Spain making use of the guns mounted on either side of the Straits is a debatable question. The security of France is no less affected. As early as May 1935 Herr Reder, Press Director and Nazi propagandist in Spain, wrote:

> A glance at the map will suffice to show what would be the strategic importance of Spain in a Franco-German war.

French communications with North Africa are threatened by Italy's control of Majorca. The munition works and aircraft factories recently established in the south of France are little less vulnerable than Barcelona itself from air attacks across the Pyrenees. In a recent article in the *Catholic Herald*, a paper that has exhibited no "Red" tendencies, it was stated:

> To us as Englishmen, the triumph of Franco at this present hour must inevitably be a source of some anxiety. *That it is so is entirely our own fault.* We fear that Nationalist Spain, in gratitude for the help given her by Germany and Italy, may join in a close understanding with Berlin and Rome. A glance at the map of Europe is sufficient to show the *appalling danger to France and Britain of a close military alliance from Hamburg to Genoa and from Genoa to Cadiz.* (My italics.)

For these and other reasons it is odd that no spokesman of the British Government in the recent debates on foreign affairs has taken the ample opportunity provided of allaying the fears—by no means confined to one party or one section of political thought—that on strategic grounds alone a victory for the friends of Germany and Italy may be a threat of the first magnitude to France and England. Perhaps the occupants of the Government Front bench have so studiously avoided that aspect of the subject for good political, if not strategic, reasons. Maybe any such discussion provokes doubts and uncertainties in the minds of those whose duty at the present time is merely to vote (not die) for the Government. After all, no satisfactory explanation has yet been given of Mr. Eden's phrase that " agreements worth making were never made on the basis of a threat." Was the threat that Italy and Germany would make use of the positions they have won in Spain to threaten France when the next European crisis arises ?

We all know that it is Czechoslovakia's turn next. When in March rumours reached London that the date was already fixed for June, the strategists wondered whether the blackmail was not on a grander scale than even the worst pessimists had suggested. Indeed, it is arguable that Mussolini's pledge to withdraw his troops and air force after their work is done in Spain may be of more importance than most of us at first thought. Europe is a small continent. It is true that Berlin may be bombed from Prague. It is equally true that Bordeaux can be bombed from Bilbao and that the " German colony " at Bilbao, who voted first in the recent Austrian plebiscite, may be occupied in preparing permanent aerodromes and munition stores for the 750 foreign aeroplanes which are present to-day in Spain.

While Mr. Eden was negotiating the " Gentlemen's Agreement " with Italy in January 1937, Italian troops were embarking for Spain. As he himself reminded the House of Commons on February 21st, 1938 :

> In January of last year, we signed the Anglo-Italian Agreement, but within a very few days, almost simultaneously, the first considerable consignment of Italians left for Spain.

British policy towards Spain has been influenced by continuous attempts to arrive at an understanding with Italy,

in order to prevent the consolidation of the Rome-Berlin axis. Various approaches have been made since the first Gentlemen's Agreement, including personal letters from Neville Chamberlain to Mussolini and a personal approach by Delbos at Geneva, and a final effort to draw Italy into tripartite conversations on Spain on September 25th. This desire to detach Italy from the arms of Germany has been an important factor in preventing the British Government from taking any more active steps with regard to Spain. But in spite of these efforts, the consolidation of the Rome-Berlin axis progressed and culminated in the inclusion of Italy in the Anti-Comintern Pact and her withdrawal from the League of Nations.

The Anglo-Italian Agreement has now finally been signed, but, as I write, the radios of every country in Europe are broadcasting the complimentary speeches exchanged between Hitler and Mussolini in Rome. Time alone will show, possibly a short time, whether the Italian agreement has or has not weakened the Rome-Berlin axis. Great Britain has paid a heavy price in making the attempt. After all, the axis has been cemented by something more than speeches. German-Italian co-operation in Spain has been more practical than the mere exchange of compliments, and while we may be a little horrified at the open Italian exultation at the part their legionaries have played in the war, public opinion in Italy regards these victories as a solid achievement.

Can anyone believe that the very substantial expenditure of men and munitions by Italy has been made solely in the cause of ideology? After all, the Italian forces in Spain are admittedly an expeditionary force under the direct control of Rome. Is the object merely an experimental use of modern equipment or a demonstration to improve the morale of the Italian people? Will no payment be accepted from General Franco? Is there no understanding that "Nationalist" Spain will join the Anti-Comintern Pact? Is there no undertaking of future co-operation, and is General Franco to grant no economic or strategic concessions? What reason is there to suppose that the assurances so frequently given verbally and now in writing (though not included in the actual text of the Agreement) that:

> The Italian Government have no territorial or political aims, and seek no privileged economic position, in or with regard to

> either Metropolitan Spain, the Balearic Islands, any of the Spanish possessions overseas, or the Spanish Zone of Morocco, and they have no intention whatever of keeping any armed forces in any of the said territories,

will be kept, any more than Hitler's assurances that the independence of Austria would be respected ?

Supposing, last September, when Mussolini visited Hitler, an understanding was arrived at by which the former would not resist the occupation of Austria, in exchange for German co-operation in Spain, the recent meeting of the two dictators on May 6th must have been more than superficially cordial. The Anglo-Italian Agreement falls in this light into its proper perspective, as merely an incident by which British and French opposition was finally neutralised, during what was intended to be the last stages of the Spanish campaign. When Mr. Eden's resignation was followed so speedily by the incorporation of Austria in the German Reich, public opinion in France and Britain became dangerously vocal in its attack upon the policy of non-intervention, which may have made sense in the early stages of the war, but which has only become a ridiculous farce, in any realistic view of British and French interests.

But, in addition, military developments in Spain prevented any change of British policy. General Franco's offensive in Catalonia met with unexpected success. It was well timed to follow Hitler's invasion of Austria—perhaps a mere coincidence! But after all, the invasion of Austria was prepared in meticulous detail and must have been contemplated for a considerable period. Is it unreasonable to suppose that General Franco's offensive, intended to finish the war, was prepared with equal care ? Arms were provided in advance, arms in quantities which it was known would be overwhelming. The timing was prepared so that " to Germany Austria and to Italy Spain " should be an accomplished fact, before the slow-moving democracies had realised what was afoot. Further, the Spanish Government may have been known to have expended too large a proportion of its munitions upon the offensive at Teruel and having, moreover, a Government which is reported to have quarrelled with Russia, it received no munitions to speak of from that source for six months. And so diplomacy and military action went hand in hand. It was said to be too late to save Spain, and a disunited and

impotent Opposition in England, instead of making every effort to do so, spent their time in fruitless discussion of the Popular Front.

The moral leadership of the world may pass from Europe to the United States. Already my constituents in lonely farms on the Pennines take the trouble to tune in to Mr. Roosevelt. But at by-elections electors hardly bother to attend meetings. They make up their minds in their own homes between two unsatisfactory alternatives. It may be that the mass resistance of the Chinese and the almost incredible pertinacity of the Spaniards have won the sympathy of an American people who are nevertheless unwilling to be entangled in the tortuous procedure of a Geneva controlled by the Hoares, the Lavals, the Simons of Europe. If the United States were to modify their neutrality policy in favour of the Spanish Republic, the grim foreboding of the uses to which a victory for General Franco would be put by his principals in Berlin and Rome may never come to pass.

The war in Spain is not yet finished, in spite of Count Ciano's reported assurances to Lord Perth during the Anglo-Italian conversations that Barcelona would have fallen by April 15th. The Spanish Government's army fights on. *The Times* correspondent, writing from Hendaye on March 26th, expressed the view that :

> Nothing can save the cause of the Government in Spain, unless foreign intervention comes to their rescue on terms approximately equal to the help Italy and Germany are giving to General Franco.

Whether or not this " curious war," with the man-power and the munitions so unevenly distributed will be ended this summer depends less upon the capacity and the courage of those who are engaged than upon international and diplomatic events. I am confident that, if and when the truth of intervention is ever established, it will be found that this intervention has been overwhelmingly in favour of the insurgents. Impartial observers in Spain have estimated that Franco's superiority in numbers in the air was in March approximately seven to one, whereas at the beginning of the war the Government was superior in air strength. Only with difficulty was the information recently extracted from the British Government that Italy had handed over four destroyers to the insurgent

navy. I cannot help wondering what Sir Henry Page-Croft would have said if the Russians had put four cruisers at the disposal of the Spanish Government! But after all geography still counts for something. Mexico and Russia find themselves at a very great disadvantage in sending arms to the Republicans, a disadvantage which has been fully exploited by the two European dictators, who, whatever else their faults, do not engage in hazardous international enterprises in a half-hearted or hesitant mood.

But any discussion of the breaches of the Non-Intervention Agreement merely amounts to a skilled method of obscuring the fundamental issue. I have stated previously in the Contemporary Review the reasons why I do not regard a victory for the Spanish Government as one for Communism. Ultimately the issue in Spain is simply this: whether a democratic government, disposed, even after previous disappointments, to appeal to the League of Nations and the moral sense of the democratic governments, is to be replaced by a dictatorship inspired and armed by international fascism.

Wilfrid Roberts.

BRITISH DOCUMENTS ON THE ORIGINS OF THE WAR.

AFTER nearly fourteen years Messrs. Gooch and Temperley have completed the task which the Secretary of State, Sir Austen Chamberlain, committed to them in the autumn of 1924. As soon as the World War started, the European belligerents all published small collections of documents. These were issued for purposes of propaganda and are, accordingly, to be used by the historian with extreme caution. They were all put together in one volume by the British Government and were issued, with a discerning and beautifully written introduction, under the name of *Collected Diplomatic Documents*, in 1915. This was, and still is, as the " synoptic bluebooks " of the belligerent Powers, a valuable source for any historian of the immediate preliminaries of the World War.

Almost immediately after the Armistice, the German Republican Government opened its archives and Karl Kautsky, the Socialist, produced at high speed a four-volume collection of documents: *Die Deutschen Dokumente zum Kriegsausbruch*, 1914, covering the period June 13th to August 6th, 1914. Kautsky was not interested in placing the Hohenzollern Government in a good light, and he had an internationalist outlook. As an editor he was free from national bias, and his collection of documents is probably as fair-minded as in the circumstances of that extraordinary time was possible. The Weimar Republic followed up the Kautsky documents with a magnificent collection of forty volumes, *Die Grosse Politik der Europaïschen Kabinette*, edited by A. Mendelssohn-Bartoldy, J. Lepsius and F. Thimme, and beginning with the year 1871. Since then, all the European Great Powers have followed the example of the Weimar Government. The United States did not require to make a new departure for it had a series of volumes of State Papers, issued regularly since 1862, reproducing its diplomatic correspondence very liberally.

The British Government was rather a late starter, but, as is its way, once started it pursued the undertaking in a spirit that was both thorough and generous. The decision to publish a British collection was made by Ramsay MacDonald, as Prime Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in

the Labour Government of 1924. The decision was not known at the time. On November 24th, 1924, *The Times* published a letter from Dr. Seton-Watson urging that the existing rules regarding publication of the national records be relaxed. By this time the MacDonald Government had fallen. Mr. Baldwin was Prime Minister and Austen Chamberlain Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Any historian who has had anything to do with the Foreign Office at this time knows how magnificently fair-minded and liberal Austen Chamberlain's administration was. He at once replied to Dr. Seton-Watson with a letter in *The Times*, stating that he had confirmed Ramsay MacDonald's instructions, and that Mr. Gooch and Mr. Temperley would edit a collection of documents for the Foreign Office. As it happened, however, another historian, Headlam-Morley, who served in the Foreign Office during the war and was retained afterwards as Historical Adviser, had already to a large extent edited a collection of documents on the period from the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand to the outbreak of war, June 28th to August 4th, 1914. Messrs. Gooch and Temperley, accordingly, asked Headlam-Morley to complete it and let it be issued first of all as Volume XI of *British Documents on the Origins of the War*. Thus the last, eleventh, volume of documents in the series came out first. The present volume is No. X. There is still to come a General Index volume, referring to the whole series.

It is a rule of the British Foreign Office that each dispatch drafted there or in the British Embassies shall be confined to one subject only. The editors have, accordingly, grouped related dispatches together, and have in nearly all cases printed each dispatch in full—here and there in a lengthy dispatch they have omitted a paragraph or two at the end which seemed to add nothing material to the subject. In doing so, they have always indicated the omission.

The Headlam-Morley volume contained a complete series of the dispatches and telegrams bearing on the war crisis, June 28th to August 4th, 1914. Drs. Gooch and Temperley could not have printed all the documents bearing on, for instance, Fashoda, the formation of the Anglo-French *Entente*, Agadir, without swelling the series to an inordinate size. Yet, although they have inevitably followed a process of selection, no reader can fail to appreciate how wide the selection has been. The editors believe that, at any rate in the later

volumes which they have made much bigger than the earlier, they have omitted no document which throws any light on the circumstances that they are investigating. And they likewise feel sure that no document has been deliberately withheld from them. They stated in the preface to the first and second volumes that no objection had been made by the Secretary of State to the publication of any document. Later, in Volume III, they declared, and repeated the declaration in subsequent volumes, that if they suspected the withholding of any document they would at once resign.

Certain collections of private letters, deposited in the Foreign Office, particularly those of Lord Sanderson, Lord Carnock and Lord Grey, have been laid under contribution. The editors have also on occasion given brief extracts from newspapers. They have added to many of the documents terse, explanatory notes of their own. Finally, they have boldly printed the minutes made on the margins of the documents or written supplementary to them by statesmen and officials who read them. In this policy they were anticipated by the editors of the *Grosse Politik* who printed *marginalia*, including the now celebrated interjections of the Kaiser Wilhelm II.

It is not going too far to say that the volumes are models of editing. No praise is too high for the technique applied to the selecting and arranging and the supplying of explanatory notes and bibliographical references.

The first ten volumes (some in two parts) issued by Gooch and Temperley contained a good many surprises and aroused considerable controversy. The editors have even taken the opportunity to clear up certain obscurities in diplomatic history before 1897, for instance Lord Palmerston's objects in helping to make the Maritime Declaration of Paris, 1856 ; the controversy between Count Karolyi, Austrian Foreign Minister, and Mr. Gladstone in 1880 ; " Salisbury's very obscure attempt to evade the Belgian guarantee during 1885-7 " ; and the British-Italian-Austrian Mediterranean Agreement, 1887.

In view of recent controversy over the question whether a Great Power ever negotiates under " now or never conditions," a remark—obviously deliberate, not casual—of the Emperor Wilhelm II may be quoted. To Lieutenant-General Grierson he said at Berlin (November 6th, 1899) : " I know

that if this Samoan matter is not settled before it is time for me to leave for England, my Ministers will recommend me not to leave the country." The Samoan matter was settled shortly afterwards. Thereupon the German Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs expressed to the British Ambassador, Sir F. Lascelles (February 16th, 1900), " his great satisfaction at the conclusion of the Samoan question," and added—a *quid pro quo* for this concession—that " I need not be uneasy about the action of the German Government with regard to the war in South Africa " (Vol. II, pp. 130-1).

The minutes of King Edward VII are all very brief. As far as they go, they display intelligent interest in foreign affairs and shrewd comment, but they do not indicate that he exercised or wanted to exercise any control whatever. They entirely dissipate the legend that he was the maker of the *Entente Cordiale*. In Volume II, p. xiii, a list of minutes by King Edward is given, so that any reader can judge for himself.

The memoranda printed in these volumes are as illuminating for the general public as for historians. One in particular, written in 1906 by Eyre Crowe, at that time Principal Clerk in the Foreign Office, is quite a treatise on German foreign policy and on Anglo-German relations. It is over twenty-two pages long, and contains over 16,000 words. The editors print it in full in Volume III. Those who charge Crowe with having been actuated by anti-German bias should read this profound historical study, which certainly does not minimise the objectionable aspects of German policy but also contains much generous appreciation. It should be compared with Crowe's very decided and strongly expressed memorandum, dated July 31st, 1914, printed in the Headlam-Morley Volume XI. With this should be read Sir F. Lascelles' magnificent, large-scale character-sketch of the Emperor Wilhelm II, in the Annual Report from the British Embassy in Berlin in 1906 (Volume III, pp. 434-8). Lascelles warned the Government against taking the Emperor's language too seriously. The Emperor once himself said to Lascelles : " You surely know me well enough to translate what I say into diplomatic language." *Metaphorically*, the Emperor might twirl his moustache and rattle his sabre, but Lascelles had never seen him actually do either of these things. The whole sketch is admirable. From time to time Lascelles reports conversations with the Emperor. It should be noted in general that

conversations form one of the most interesting and dramatic features of the whole series. Hardinge's reports of his conversations when he accompanied King Edward VII on visits to the German Emperor or to the Tsar make splendid reading. Volume IX, Part 1, is a great conversation volume—the Kaiser, Bethmann-Hollweg, King Charles of Rumania, Venizelos, Mahmud Shefket Pasha, all speak.

It would be impossible to name any important affair in diplomatic history in which Great Britain was concerned, between 1897 and 1914, which is not illuminated by important documentary material in these volumes. For some things, for instance the making of the Anglo-Russian Entente of 1907, the documents here published are really the only authority. Besides diplomatic history, the contemporary political and social history of foreign countries is treated informingly in the Annual Reports of the British Ambassadors, instituted in 1906. In Volume V copious extracts are given from the Annual Reports on Turkey for 1906 and 1907. These provide the fullest and most authentic account available of the political structure of the Sultanate on the eve of the Young Turk Revolution. They contain unique sketches of the character and duties of the high officials of the Turkish Court and Administration—among them an unforgettable picture of Tashim Pasha, Chief Secretary of the Palace, a Turk aged 47 in 1906, who with only one day's holiday had served Abdul Hamid throughout a period of twelve years, day and night, Sundays as well as week-days, classifying and submitting to the Sultan the voluminous correspondence of the Sublime Porte, transmitting and receiving all communications to or from the Sultan, dealing with all comers, embassy dragomans, ministers of state, heads of religious communities, naval and military officers, concession hunters, mendicant dervishes, " and getting rid of them all when no order or reply is forthcoming " (Volume V, p. 7).

The scrupulous impartiality with which the documents are left to speak for themselves gives some unexpected results. The German Government, for instance, obtains no mitigation of its responsibility for the gravity of the " Bosnian Crisis " in 1909, but its conduct in the Agadir affair of 1911 produces a less unfavourable impression than is generally accepted in Great Britain. There is a remarkable chapter devoted to the celebrated speech of Lloyd George, July 21st, 1911. This was

a fateful year. The editors print for the first time the frank and impressive speech on foreign affairs made by Sir E. Grey in 1911 to the Dominion Premiers assembled at the Imperial Conference (Volume VI). Readers may ask themselves whether the Governments and peoples of the Empire overseas in 1914 would have rallied to Great Britain with the speed and conviction which they displayed, had it not been for Grey's timely and full exposition in 1911.

Nothing in the whole series has aroused more controversy than the publication of the Hardinge minute appended to a memorandum of Eyre Crowe written in 1908 on the obligation of Great Britain to defend the neutrality of Belgium. Crowe advised that the British Government was liable for the maintenance of Belgian neutrality whenever either Belgium or any of the guaranteeing Powers should need and should demand assistance. Hardinge minuted: "The liability undoubtedly exists as stated above, but whether we could be called upon to carry out our obligation and to vindicate the neutrality of Belgium in opposing its violation must necessarily depend upon our policy at the time and the circumstances of the moment. Supposing that France violated the neutrality of Belgium in a war against Germany, it is, under present circumstances, doubtful whether England or Russia would move a finger to maintain Belgian neutrality, while if the neutrality of Belgium were violated by Germany it is probable that the converse would be the case" (Volume III, pp. 377-8). This was only the opinion of an official. Some critics said that its publication gave a misleading impression of British policy. Others said that its publication would deter officials in the future from really declaring their minds in secret minutes.

Some of the new information in the present volume (X, Part 2) might be called startling or at any rate arresting. The first item of the volume is the facsimile of a letter, in clear, resolute handwriting, from George V to the Foreign Secretary, dated from York Cottage, Sandringham, December 8th, 1912. It begins "My dear Grey," and ends, "Believe me, very sincerely yours, George R.I." It is about a conversation of the King with Prince Henry of Prussia (brother of the Kaiser Wilhelm II) "with regard to the present situation."

> He asked me point blank, whether in the event of Germany and Austria going to war with Russia and France, England would come

> to the assistance of the two latter Powers. I answered undoubtedly yes under certain circumstances. He professed surprise and regret but did not ask what the certain circumstances were.

December 8th, 1912, eighteen months before the World War, seems fairly early for such a " point blank " question to be asked by a responsible German. This was the year in which the Mediterranean Naval Agreement was made between Great Britain and France. The need for such an Agreement was, according to the letter of Captain Hankey, Secretary of the Committee of Imperial Defence, to Grey (April 30th, 1912), in the fact that : " in the event of a war with Germany, in which one of the Mediterranean Powers was also opposed to us, the Admiralty could not guarantee the safety of British communications through the Mediterranean until the situation has cleared up in the North Sea." Eyre Crowe of the Foreign Office consulted with Admiral Troubridge, General Wilson and Captain Hankey, " as to the probable effects on British policy of our evacuating the Mediterranean." There had been previous conversations on this subject between British and French officers, with the knowledge of Grey and the Prime Minister. About these Anglo-French naval conversations Grey minuted that they began with Sir John Fraser, " I think, later than 1906 " (actually it was in 1907). Nicolson did not at all like the idea of the British navy, all but a cruiser squadron, being withdrawn from the Mediterranean ; but if the Admiralty insisted, then they must " come to an understanding with France on the subject which would, I do not deny, be very much of the character of a defensive alliance." (Nicolson to Bertie, May 6th, 1912.) The Foreign Office Memorandum of May 8th, 1912, prepared by Crowe, roundly said that this would have to be a " definite naval understanding between England and France, amounting in practice to an agreement for mutual assistance in case either is attacked by the Triple Alliance." On the other hand, Crowe pointed out, " a retreat of the British navy from the Mediterranean would shift the diplomatic scales at Constantinople markedly in favour of Germany." These prophecies of Nicolson and Crowe all proved to be correct. The Admiralty, or at any rate Mr. Churchill, wanted a political declaration to be inserted in the naval technical agreement, to the effect that communications between the naval experts were not to be taken as prejudicing the decision of the two Governments.

M. Poincaré objected that such a declaration was not in place in an experts' agreement but should be placed on record by exchange of notes between the diplomatic representatives of the two countries. Grey, advised by Bertie, ambassador at Paris, acquiesced in this view. Thus originated the now well-known Grey-Cambon Notes of November 22nd, 23rd, 1912 (declaring that each Government had a free hand), which were first published in the British White Paper of August 1914.

Grey was endeavouring in 1913-14 to attain good relations with Germany through what might be called the " Entente " method, which had succeeded so well with France in 1904 : that is to say, he, along with Lichnowsky, was clearing up, one by one, practical questions in the colonial and overseas sphere. Among these overseas affairs was the Bagdad Railway, a German enterprise, unfinished in 1914, which had been the bogy of the more advanced British imperialists for twenty years. The German Government and Company were willing, and always had been willing, to admit British (also French and Russian) capital and to some extent even British administration. The Porte proved to be a hard bargainer, but an agreement, satisfactory to all three Parties, was initialed in 1913. The working out of the details for the agreement was in the hands of Eyre Crowe, Arthur Hirtzel and Alwyn Parker. The Editors justly remark : " It was unfortunate that work so highly skilled, so intensive, and so prolonged, should have failed of success." The European War prevented the agreement being finally concluded and put into force. The same thing may be said about the Anglo-German negotiations 1911-14 about Africa. In 1898 the German and British Governments had made a treaty defining the shares that might fall to them in the Portuguese African colonies in the event of the Portuguese colonial empire falling to pieces ; but in 1899 the British Government had reaffirmed its ancient alliance with Portugal by the so-called Windsor Treaty. Both these agreements were secret, but the contents had leaked out. In 1912 the German Government was still looking for " Colonial and territorial exchanges," and particularly, the German ambassador told Grey on April 10th, 1912, at the expense of the Portuguese Empire. Grey admitted : " It was wrong materially and morally that the [Portuguese] Colonies should remain derelict. . . . But on the other hand, there was our alliance with Portugal." A new Anglo-German Convention

or Agreement concerning the Portuguese colonies, in place of the Convention of 1898, was discussed and negotiated patiently in 1912-13, and was initialed on October 20th, 1913. It provided for joint participation of the British and German Governments in any loans that the Portuguese Government should require for its colonies ; and also for a clear division of the interests of the British and German Governments in case the Portuguese were willing to cede any colonies. Sir Edward Grey looked forward not to cessions of territory by Portugal but rather to concessions to British and German companies for development of the colonies. The prospects for British and German relations were good, and were, consequently, according to information supplied by Mr. O'Beirne of the St. Petersburg Embassy, regarded with some anxiety by the Russian and French Governments. The Agreement was secret, but its contents were known or shrewdly guessed at. Grey " told M. Cambon roughly the provisions of the Agreement " (Grey to Granville, November 28th, 1913). Grey wanted to publish the Agreement, but felt that he could only do so if he published the Windsor Treaty of 1899, guaranteeing the Portuguese Empire. To such publication the German Government objected, and so Grey, accordingly, agreed to defer publication " for the present." Herr von Jagow, German Secretary of State, when informed of this by the British Ambassador at Berlin, Sir E. Goschen, " seemed very grateful." This was on April 21st, 1914. Things were going very well between the two countries.

A very significant conversation, January 6th, 1913, of Sir R. Rodd, Ambassador at Rome, with this same Herr von Jagow, on the point of leaving the German Embassy at Rome for the Secretaryship of State at Berlin, is printed on pages 659-62. Von Jagow felt uncertain about Austria : " She is very difficult to manage because there is a total lack of leadership there." Count Berchtold, Austrian Foreign Minister, was, according to Von Jagow, " one of Aehrenthal's mistakes." Von Jagow thought that he saw in the Austrian Empire, rapidly maturing, " all the elements of dissolution." Yet the Austrians were " the only friends we [the Germans] have in Europe." Von Jagow frankly admitted that the bad mutual relations of the British and Germans were largely due to the Germans never having let Great Britain know " what Germany really wants ; and to a great extent the reason of

this is that Germany does not know herself." As regards the naval question, Tirpitz was not a politician, and did not want to be one ; " but it had become an obsession with him to make his fleet the most perfect instrument that organisation and concentration of purpose could devise." The German Emperor, Von Jagow said, " was more English than the English." His outbursts were really *dépit amoureux*. He told the British Naval attaché at Berlin that the balance of power in Europe was upset " when you ranged yourselves on the side of Russia and France. It was due to my poor Uncle who in a misguided moment was persuaded to sign the Reval agreement and join England to an alliance of two Nations who had offensive agreements against Germany " (p. 701).

In view of the present absence of Japan from concert with the Western Powers, the proposal in July 1914 of Sazonov, Russian Foreign Minister, for a Triple Guarantee is significant. According to this, the Russian, British and Japanese Governments were to guarantee each others' possessions in Asia. This would have relieved British apprehensions concerning Russian designs in India and possibly in Persia ; and it might have proved to be a mutually acceptable substitute for the alliance between Great Britain and Japan to which the United States so much objected. Headlam-Morley first disclosed this proposal in his original volume (*British Documents*, XI). The papers included in Appendix I of the present volume show that the British and Russian Foreign Offices were dealing with the proposal as late as August 9th, 1914, when, presumably, it was set aside on account of the all-absorbing pressure of war affairs.

Some documents which will be very useful to the historian of the Arab movement are contained in Appendix II. The now familiar names of the Sherif Hussein and of his sons Abdullah and Faizal occur. Their attitude towards the Turkish Government and towards Ibn Saud of Nejd is to some extent clarified, as is also that of the British Government towards the Porte and the Arab Movement. Clear proof that Lord Kitchener, in his conversation with Abdullah at Cairo on February 5th, 1914, did not " wink at " the possibility of an Arab revolt is furnished by Abdullah's own account of that conversation, printed on page 832. Abdullah says : " When I asked him to tell me whether, in the event of a rupture, the Sherif could count on any support from Great Britain,

Kitchener replied negatively, on the plea that British relations with Turkey were friendly, and that in any case the dispute was an internal matter in which it would not be proper for a foreign Power to intervene."

Perusal of the documents in this volume does not give the impression that the international situation was especially dangerous in the first six months of 1914 or that any Government wanted war. Sir Edward Grey and the Foreign Office are seen as incessantly working to ease tension in every direction. Monarchy, which existed in all the Great European Powers except France, was a helpful source of international contact. An instance of this is a letter printed in the present volume (p. 801-2) from King George V to the Tsar Nicholas II, June 16th, 1914. It must have been written on the advice of Grey, and was obviously meant to reinforce regular negotiations which Buchanan, ambassador at St. Petersburg, had been instructed to open with Sazonov concerning Russo-British relations in Persia. Royal letters had a certain elasticity, friendliness, personal aspect, which official despatches, naturally, could not attain.

While it is clear that the Foreign Office was alert and energetic in working for the removal of tensions wherever it could, a criticism—perhaps the only serious criticism of its method—may be suggested in so far as this peace-keeping method was a *piece-meal* one. This is not to depreciate the effort. Relief of tensions wherever opportunity can be found, line upon line, line upon line, here a little, there a little—is obviously of enormous value in international affairs ; yet, unless what is vaguely but not altogether inaccurately called a " general settlement " can be from time to time achieved, tensions are apt to break out in unexpected places and may ruin the whole situation. In 1913-14 the Anglo-German problem was, in its many aspects, in a fair way to being settled : the breakdown came from an entirely unexpected quarter—a semi-domestic Austro-Serbian affair.

The present volume concludes what must be recognised as a great series of documents, conceived on the grand scale, and edited with the most admirable scholarship. Besides the documents themselves, the notes, which are brief but numerous, provide in their references a guide to the diplomatic literature of the whole period.

R. B. Mowat.

THE DOOM OF AUSTRIAN JEWRY.

THE catastrophe that has befallen the Jews of Austria is only one of the fateful consequences of the German annexation, but it is the one which most fully exposes the Nazi ideology in all its stark barbarity. No sooner had the Germans become masters of the country than they began to vent their hatred of the Jewish population by all the methods that they had perfected during five years of continuous practice in the Reich. When Hitler first became Chancellor he sought to justify his policy of oppressing the Jews by accusing them of having been the rulers over Germany and causing its downfall; but when he invaded Austria and spread terror among its Jewish inhabitants he invented no such pretext, for their political impotence under the prevailing conditions of anti-Semitism was known only too well. Nor was any pretext necessary, for the persecution of the Jewish race is such a cardinal feature of the Nazi programme that, as soon as Dr. Schuschnigg announced his resignation, the Austrian Nazis immediately proceeded to celebrate their triumph by an orgy of violence against the Jews not only in Vienna but also in all other parts of the country. What appeared at first to be a mere outburst of lawlessness owing to the overthrow of the Government continued on a much larger scale and in a much grosser form after the arrival of the German troops and police, and it soon became clear that the Jews were to experience all the afflictions and indignities that had been imposed upon their brethren in Germany. Indeed, their ill-treatment, as of a foreign and vanquished foe, is far more brutal.

With the hoisting of the Swastika there began an organised campaign of Jew-baiting, in which no device calculated to terrorise, injure, impoverish, and humiliate has been left unused. Thousands of Jews have been imprisoned and many sent to a concentration camp for no other reason but that they are Jews. Thousands have been robbed in their houses, flats, shops and offices by storm troopers, who seized whatever money, jewels, and other valuables, as well as any articles of use that could be carried away. The plunderers generally came in gangs of four or more, so as to overcome any resistance and ensure a maximum haul, and they gave a semblance of officialism to their robberies by scribbling a receipt, which

served no useful purpose whatever. When appeals were made to the police authorities they declared that the looting was done by "Communists in Nazi uniform," and that if they were summoned to anybody's help they would quickly respond; but when this advice was acted upon the police delayed their arrival until the looters had time to get away, and then they fined the distracted victims upon the spot 20 schillings for bringing them on a fool's errand. If a Jew declared that he had handed over all his money and jewellery, and the storm troopers, after a reckless search, discovered something more, they carried him off as a punishment. Even large department stores were completely sacked by hordes of uniformed Nazis, who brought motor-lorries to transport their vast booty to their depots.

The methodical and expeditious manner in which this looting was carried out simultaneously in various districts of Vienna and its suburbs, as well as in provincial towns, showed that the raiders must have had prepared lists of names and addresses in advance. Motor-cars belonging to Jews were seized without ceremony, and their owners even received a demand from the garage at which they were kept that they must continue paying the garage and petrol costs as well as the usual tips. The total value of the money and goods stolen throughout the country must have amounted at least to hundreds of thousands of pounds.

The treatment of the authorities of the Jewish Community of Vienna and of Jewish institutions was particularly outrageous. The President and other members of the Executive of the Community, as well as the heads of the lodges of the "Bnei Brith," a purely fraternal organisation, were imprisoned, and three of them were sent to suffer all the torments of the Dachau Concentration Camp. The central offices of the Community were closed, after a sum of 35,000 schillings (about £1,300) was seized by Nazi officials, and thus the administration of a large number of religious and social welfare institutions (hospitals, orphanages and soup kitchens) was paralysed. The entire library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, comprising 10,000 volumes, has been confiscated and removed to some unknown place. The offices of the Zionist Federation, including the Palestine Emigration Office, as well as those of all other Jewish organisations were closed. A Jewish girls' orphanage was evacuated in order to make room for "Aryan" children.

The imprisonment of the Jewish leaders was believed to have been due to their having organised a subscription of 800,000 schillings (about £30,000) in aid of the Schuschnigg plebiscite, an act that was perfectly legal and loyal at the time it was done. In order to expiate their sin, the Nazi authorities demanded that the Community should raise a further contribution of 800,000 schillings as proof that the Jews were just as well disposed towards them as to the former Government, and they refused to permit the reopening of the Community's offices until this monstrous ransom was paid. But after receiving half of this amount, the collection of which took a few weeks, the Gestapo allowed the offices of the Community and of the Zionist Federation to be reopened.

For several weeks the principal synagogue in the Seitenstetten-gasse, where the offices are also situated, was occupied by storm troopers, who desecrated its interior. They dragged Jews who happened to pass by into the building, compelled them to don the silk hats of the wardens, as well as praying-shawl and phylacteries, and, thus attired, to scrub floors, clean windows, brush top-boots, scour lavatories, and sing the *Horst Wessel* song. In other synagogues there were even worse acts of desecration, the interiors being defiled and scrolls of the Torah mutilated or burned. Many Jews were forced to scrub the Schuschnigg crosses that had been painted with some indelible substance on the pavements amid the jeers of the assembled crowds ; others had to clean barracks or motor-cars. Such " scrubbing squads," consisting both of men and women, and numbering about a hundred, were formed up in fours and made to march across the bridges of the Danube, with their escort of Nazi bullies yelling at them to do the goose-step. Even a bridal couple coming out of a synagogue were forced to scrub the pavement for hours.

The Jews in Styria and other provincial districts were subjected to similar acts of extortion and humiliation, but worst of all was the fate that befell those in the Burgenland. Over 400 Jews were expelled from Frauenkirchen, Kittsee, Eisenstadt, and other towns, after having been robbed of all their possessions and made to sign statements that they had acquired them dishonestly and surrendered them voluntarily for the benefit of the State. Most of these families had been settled in the Burgenland for generations, many for over 300 years, and at least one for 600 years. Their expulsion was due

to an order from the military authorities in Berlin, that all Jews living within 50 kilometres of the frontiers of Czechoslovakia or Hungary must be removed. But as all frontiers were closed to them, many of those who were unable to flee to Vienna were driven by storm troopers, either on foot or in motor-lorries, into the adjoining territory, from where many of them were forced back again by the gendarmes. Some of these refugees, including greybeards and infants, were hounded like beasts of prey from Austria into Czechoslovakia, from there into Hungary, and then back again into Austria, where they were once more seized by the storm troopers and carried off to some unknown place. One party of refugees was left stranded on a perilous breakwater in the Danube at Theben, in Czechoslovakia, from where they were rescued, but while some found refuge on a French tugboat the greater number were handed back to their original tormentors. Hundreds who had succeeded in reaching Vienna were afterwards arrested and flung into jail.

The Jews of Austria have been doomed to extermination or expulsion, but, before either fate overtakes them, they must submit to pauperisation and degradation. All those employed in any kind of official or public position, whether at universities, law courts, schools, or hospitals, have been dismissed. Only those doctors who are absolutely indispensable have been retained on the insurance panels; pharmacists have been warned that they must transfer their businesses to "Aryans"; and lawyers are afraid to appear in the courts. Theatres and concert-halls, cinemas and cabarets, newspaper offices and publishing houses, have been "purged," for culture in Austria, to which the Jews have hitherto contributed so greatly, is now to become purely "Aryan." All non-Jewish firms have discharged their Jewish employees, numbering tens of thousands, though some of those who could not be replaced were reinstated. All large Jewish industrial establishments and shops have been ordered to employ Nazi "commissars," who control the incoming correspondence and all money affairs; and many business enterprises have already, under compulsion, been transferred to "Aryans." Every non-Jewish shop displays a swastika and a printed notice with the words "Aryan business" or "German-Aryan business," while all Jewish shops, and cafés too, are obstructed by pickets holding placards with the wording "Don't buy from Jews!" Adding

insult to injury, the storm troopers compel Jews themselves, in some cases the very shopkeepers, to act as pickets, while they keep watch ; and for a brief spell even the Chief Rabbi of Vienna was compelled to do picketing duty until relieved by another Jew. All Jewish businesses are eventually to become " Aryanised," and the compulsory transfer will entail heavy losses.

There is no affliction too painful, no indignity too humiliating, no exaction too mean, that the paladins of Nordic *Kultur* do not impose upon their helpless victims. No wonder that hundreds of them have sought refuge in suicide, while the number of supposed suicides that were really murders will never be known. The Nuremberg laws have not yet been formally enacted, but in practice they are being applied in many instances : pressure is being brought to bear upon Christians to divorce their Jewish husbands or wives, and countless tragedies are occurring daily. As in Germany, the Jews are stigmatised as a pest. They are forbidden to visit the public baths in Vienna, they must no longer walk in the Prater (where they were made to do knee-bending exercises), and if they venture to enter a café, whose windows are besmeared with the word " Jude " in large red letters, they risk being ordered by storm troopers to scrub the floor or wash the walls.

The German Government, as Goering and Goebbels have proclaimed, wish the Jews to evacuate Austria, and especially Vienna, within four years. The Jews will require no persuasion to leave ; indeed, they would all flee at once from the Nazi plague. But whither and how ? For weeks past dozens of consulates have been besieged daily by crowds of Jews anxious to obtain visas for other countries : at least 80,000 applications have already been made—for the neighbouring countries in Central Europe, for the free lands of the West, for the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Palestine, and even Paraguay. Over 10,000 applications have been made for Australia alone ; Palestine at present seems to afford little hope owing to the unreasonable restrictions imposed by the Mandatory Government ; and Paraguay is trying to exploit the despair of able-bodied Jews by offering them free land for farming on condition that they are willing to fight in any renewed war with Bolivia. But the Government at present will not allow any Jews to leave. It has enacted a decree

requiring all Jews in Greater Germany to register all their property above the value of 5,000 marks, so that " the Commissioner of the Four-Year Plan can take measures necessary to ensure that the property subject to the special declaration shall be used in harmony with the needs of the Germany economy." The comment of the *Angriff*, the official Party organ, upon this decree, violation of which entails punishment ranging up to ten years' penal servitude, was : " All Jewish fortunes of 5,000 marks or more will now be seized (*Times*, April 28th)." A more liberal interpretation, also derived from an authoritative source (*Manchester Guardian*, May 2nd), is that the Jews will be compelled to sell their businesses, in order that they may be completely eliminated from economic life, and the proceeds will be invested in State bonds, which it will not be permissible to sell abroad, and would, therefore, have to be left behind—or realised at a loss—by those who emigrate. Thus, in either case the effect will be that the Jews will be fleeced before they can quit the country.

According to the census of 1934 there were 191,000 Jews in Austria. There are now about 185,000, of whom 170,000 are in Vienna. They have for years been a dying community, for in 1923 there were over 200,000 in Vienna alone. A high death-rate, a low birth-rate, increasing unemployment, growing poverty, and a steady emigration, have produced their effect. Before the Nazi invasion there were 25,000 Jews in Vienna unemployed and about 60,000 dependent upon the Board of the Community, which spent 40 per cent. of its budget upon their relief. Over half of the Jews were engaged in trade and one-fifth in the liberal professions and similar vocations. Owing to their practically total exclusion from the Government and municipal services, their intellectual class was largely attracted to the liberal professions, in which they numbered 1,300 lawyers and 1,500 doctors.

The problem of finding new homes for all these prospective exiles, whose numbers will be increased by the addition of tens of thousands of " non-Aryan Christians," will therefore prove far more difficult than was the task of settling the Jewish refugees from Germany, especially as the capacity of some countries to absorb more intellectual workers is doubtful. And the process of impoverishment, due to looting, forced contributions, compulsory sale of business, surrender of property for the benefit of the Four-Year Plan, and

" flight-tax," will certainly cripple the Jews in their efforts to secure admission to other lands, and throw an added burden upon Jewish relief organisations abroad. The International Conference which President Roosevelt is convening to consider the problem cannot, therefore, meet too soon or act too generously. The States taking part must set an example of hospitality ; and Palestine, in regard to which the Jews were officially assured years ago that they were there " as of right and not on sufferance," must open its gates wide despite the opposition of the Arab terrorists.

The Jews of Austria have deserved a better fate, for they have served their country well and loyally, with all their talents and industry. For the past two hundred years they have played an important part in its national life, and made valuable contributions in every field of activity. They have helped to create its culture, to further its economic development, to advance its fame. Although less than 3 per cent. of the population, they have received four of the eight Nobel prizes awarded to Austrians. They have made Vienna celebrated as a school of medicine, with names like Baranyi, Neumann, Pick, and Neuburger. They have given to philosophy the genius of Freud, to literature Schnitzler and Stefan Zweig, to music Mahler and Bruno Walter, to the theatre Max Reinhardt and Hugo von Hoffmansthal. They developed the Vienna press and were among the leading publishers. They were also pioneers in the economic sphere, for they introduced a number of leading industries, built the first railway, from Vienna to Brünn and Cracow, and initiated the transport of goods by steamships on the Danube.

But all their manifold labours have been in vain. The Nazi Government has pronounced their doom, and the once gay and glamorous capital of the Habsburgs has been reduced to a haunt of terror. The League of Nations, by the Treaty of St. Germain, was pledged to safeguard the civil rights of the Jews, as of other minorities, in Austria, but is impotent to help them. For the Jews are the victims of a brutal and fanatical power, ruthless and aggressive, that knows neither law nor justice, neither truth nor honour. But they are not its only victims : the foundations of civilisation itself are being slowly destroyed.

VERAX.

HUNGARY AND THE NAZIS.

IF there is truth in the formula of Montesquieu that a nation is happy if her annals are tedious, Hungary seemed for a couple of years on the way to such happiness. The post-war storms which the greater part of Europe has since known, the clash between embittered utopianism and brutal national egotism, occurred in Hungary earlier than elsewhere. With some optimism one could believe that among the sounder elements of the country there is a growing antipathy to grandiloquent words and irresponsible actions. After having passed within a short space of time through revolutions and counter-revolutions, through military dictatorship and a policy of restoration of the former ruling classes, through absurd chauvinistic dreams and absurd attempts to achieve them, the Hungarian people took a more realistic view of their internal, social and economic problems, a sounder idea of the mission of a small nation in Europe.

But Nazism frustrated all hopes of a better future. If it was difficult for Hungary to accommodate herself psychologically to the new circumstances before 1933, now the dangerous illusion of some nationalistic elements that the map of Europe would be suddenly and violently changed became a likelihood of the near future. Hungary could choose the way of solidarity with the other Danubian nations (history and community of cultural features would speak for such a policy) or, in return for compensations in the form of frontier revision, she might become an instrument of any outside Power whose ambition claims a control over South-Eastern Europe. Fascism and Nazism were temptations to follow the latter alternative. The rape of Austria, however, made her realise the dangers of a common frontier with a highly armed and aggressive Power. The last days of independent Austria were marked by growing nervousness, and the capture without resistance of Vienna caused a real panic necessitating a statement by the Foreign Minister that Hungary's frontiers are safe by repeated assurances of Germany, " Hungary's former ally and constant friend." The disquieting question was the town and district of Sopron (better known abroad under its German name Oedenburg), intended by the Trianon treaty for Austria, but where Hungarian insurgents in the autumn of 1921 obtained a plebiscite which resulted in a

72 per cent. majority for Hungary. Now the Oedenburg question may rise again, as a practically bilingual Hungarian-German population of about 250,000 may be claimed by Hitler as a "German minority." The clerical burgomaster of Vienna, Karl Lueger, whose anti-Jewish outbursts according to *Mein Kampf* were Hitler's first political impression, once remarked: "It is for me to decide who is a Jew and who is not." It is to-day for Hitler to decide who is a German and who is not. The population of Budapest and of some West Hungarian towns is partly of German extraction, speaking, besides Hungarian, a dialect undoubtedly German, though it would be hard for a German of Hamburg or Frankfurt to understand. The Hungarian Germans had little to complain of in the past. If pre-war Hungary pursued an intolerant and short-sighted policy towards Slav minorities and the Rumanians of Transylvania on whom outside Irredentism and Panslavism exercised an attraction, she was rather friendly towards the Germans, who, at worst, were in sympathy with an ally and as a rule were German-speaking Hungarian citizens without any sort of separatist aspirations.

The greatest of them, Lenau, was inspired by Hungary's romantic landscape and people, and expressed himself in marvellous German words and verses. The musician Franz Liszt, the physiologist Semmelweiss, the great Catholic scholar and pacifist Giesswein, to mention only names which may be known to the foreign reader, were Germans of Hungary devoted to both peoples. Only the ethnographic principle driven to its extreme can create a "German question" in Hungary. The myth of the "backward Asiatic Magyar race" which owes everything to German colonisers, a theme popular among nineteenth-century pan-German historians, seems to be dug up by a tremendous pro-Nazi propaganda spreading all over Hungary. The truth is that, if Germans have contributed usefully and honourably to Hungarian civilisation, this civilisation is Hungarian in every sense, built up in the centuries—even throughout the 150 years of Turkish conquest—by Catholic and Protestant schools, by Latin legislation and humanism, by Hungarian nobles in the political institutions and by peasants' sons who went through the old humanistic colleges notwithstanding the former aristocratic privileges, last not least by the Jewish intelligentsia, Germany only sharing in it with England, France and Italy.

Strange to say, there are Hungarian nationalists who do not mind the artificial creation of a minority question, nor even the Germanic reinterpretation of Hungarian history and civilisation. Yet Oedenburg and the minority question are but small matters. Germany is generally expected to line up against Czechoslovakia, and indeed the campaign has already started by different sorts of pressure. Hungary's territory would be needed for such German action. Proposals in this sense are said to have been put before the Hungarian Premier and the Foreign Minister, Darányi and de Kánya, when they visited Berlin early this year, and apparently they refused the German demand for an air force base in Hungary. In case of a German attack on Czechoslovakia Hungary may turn into a new Belgium, with the difference that Nazism prepares invasions by propaganda and carries them out by pseudo-patriots.

The usual themes of propaganda are anti-Semitism and the Nazi conception of a tribal nation, which have their effect on basic instincts. In Hungary the brutal tone and localised excesses became so general after the invasion of Austria that the subtle Transylvanian aristocrat and former Premier, Count Bethlen, thought a stern warning in Parliament necessary:

> The next five years will decide the Danubian question. . . . If these years do not find in Hungary a united society, an energetic and lawful government and law-abiding citizens, conscious of their duties towards the nation, Hungary may perish. The present right-wing government would do well to fix a line between their own right-wing character and the right-wing revolution of conspirators against the laws and the constitution.

The Agrarian deputy Tibor Eckhardt did not hesitate to add that "this line of discrimination ought to be, if necessary, a barbed wire defended by machine-guns." The Regent Horthy, abandoning the usual reserve imposed upon the head of a state, appeared at the microphone to reassure "the country driven into panic by strange rumours." The economic activities in which Jews and semi-Jews play such an important part have nearly stopped, and without the strongly worded appeal of the Regent to the Army and the authorities to keep order the prospects even of the immediate future appeared dark. It is, however, no secret that the lower ranks of the administration are penetrated by Nazism and that

even the honest, clear-sighted but not very strong Darányi Government has been divided between two tendencies.* To some Cabinet Ministers willingness to play the part of Seyss-Inquart is attributed. The Regent interpreted the acts of aggression in recent years not as " aggression " but as a " drive towards a more just division of the world, a task in which the League of Nations failed." Thus he made it clear that, if on the one hand Hungary fears the German control over herself, she hopes for the rearrangement of the map to her own profit through Germany's assistance. As Princess Odescalchi-Andrássy, a leading Catholic, points out in a letter to the liberal paper *Magyar Hirlap* :

> it counts as Hungarian patriotism to attack Czechoslovakia, while the same Hungarian patriots are friendly towards the two other states which took Hungarian territory, Rumania and Yugoslavia. The reason for this duplicity is not Hungarian national interest but the interest of the axis policy.

When another Catholic and Conservative with an equally historic name, Count George Széchenyi, expressed in Parliament his sympathy for Dr. Schuschnigg and " the loyal working class of what was till recently our friend, the Austrian Federal State," he was politely stopped by the Speaker. Moreover, " Jewish legislation " is being introduced rationing the employment of Jews. These features of the régime, the duplicity of foreign policy, the authoritative limits imposed not upon Nazi propagandists but upon their critics, the tendency to gratify Nazism by concessions, are matters of grave concern.

The " Jewish legislation " was certainly a grudging concession by a liberal-minded Premier. Though comparatively mild, it affects economic life, depriving Hungary of sympathies, and is a dangerous abandonment of civil equality. The Hungarian Jews are very often completely assimilated, being old settlers and useful citizens. As a whole they are less assimilated than the British or French Jews, but much more than the Jewry of Poland or Rumania. In Eastern Europe the contrast between town and countryside is striking. The Jews are mostly town folk both in social position and mentality, and this is all that can be said in fairness about them, or

* Since the above was written, the former Minister of Commerce, M. Imredy, has succeeded M. Darányi. Events will show whether the new government can fight Nazism more energetically. The dilemma described above is, however, likely to remain.

against them. The same objection against town folk in a peasant country may apply to German burghers who are the asset of Nazi propaganda. Supposing an ethnic minority is necessarily a national peril, are 500,000 Jews with no coherent nation behind them really a greater danger than 300,000 Germans backed by a neighbouring Great Power? Such a question would be logical, but Nazism appeals not to logic but to envy, credulity, obscurantism and atavism.

For what end? For German hegemony over Europe? No lesser goal seems credible for such immense efforts, for such frenzy and fanaticism. Greater Germany needs an agrarian basis extending down to the Ukraine, and a way to the three seas, the Baltic, the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, an old aim of German expansionism. Hungary is situated on the route of this "*Drang nach Osten*." Can she escape her fate? Whatever one may think of her present régime, the disappearance of her independence, cultural traditions and character would be a loss to Europe. The Government ought to be encouraged to stand firm, the more so if it is hesitating. So should the people, of which the best heads certainly understand Hungary's mission. Every further step by Germany southwards or eastwards may provoke a counter-move by Russia, who cannot passively await Germany's coming to her door. No reasonable person can welcome this eventuality. None can desire for Danubian Europe the fate of a battlefield between the two Powers. Britain, with her past struggles for the freedom of the seas, cannot be indifferent to the question of supremacy on three seas.

Two immediate steps, one political and one economic, may yet stop Germany's push in this dangerous direction and uphold peace. Into the East European system of the Little Entente and Balkan Entente, Poland and Hungary should enter by a third pact. A neutral *bloc* between Germany and Russia could protect the latter against aggression: aggression in the opposite sense is unlikely. The Little Entente has largely lost its meaning. It was originally intended to prevent a Habsburg restoration. This eventuality no longer exists. Prague's acceptance of it as a "lesser evil" would, however, have given a chance to those pro-Nazis in Belgrade and Bucharest who advocate their countries' release from Little Entente obligations. Yet the three States appreciate the advantage of the Little Entente which made

of them a joint Great Power. As to the Balkan Entente, it is one of the few lasting solutions in Europe.

When the Habsburg Monarchy was split up, Europe believed in the ethnographical principle, in the peacefulness of peoples united and left alone. Now it is proved that it serves and must needs serve Germany's purpose, she being numerically the largest nation. Not the ethnographic principle alone but its combination with historical realities holds out prospects. The historical national principle offers a hope for Hungary. Her great aspiration is the saving of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania. She can achieve it through coming to terms with Rumania within an East European *bloc*. If it is difficult for Hungarian Székels to become Rumanians, there is no difficulty for them to be Transylvanians in an autonomous province, an old historical and cultural entity, that eastern Switzerland of three nations, Rumanians, Magyars and Germans, called Transylvania. Such a province would offer a prospect also to 400,000 Transylvanian Saxons, who otherwise are an easy prey to Pan-Germanism and a potential danger for Rumania by serving as a German pretext against Rumania.

The other, economic, step should be an action by Britain. Germany's offer of economic advantages to South-Eastern nations is a danger, while Britain's offer would be a gain for Peace—even if financially there were no substantial gain for Britain. If Western policy is based on a larger and deeper vision of history and of Europe, there is hope. If it degenerates into a policy of expediencies called "realism," everything is lost. Hungary celebrates this year the ninth centenary of the death of St. Stephen, the founder of her Christian realm. This king, to whom Pope Sylvester II sent the legendary crown in the millenary year of Christendom, wrote a famous book to teach his son Emmerich the duties of a Christian prince. In his *Admonitions* he advises the young prince to receive foreigners hospitably into his kingdom, leaving them their language and their habits, "because a realm of the same language and the same habits is imbecile and fragile." Nine hundred years after this great converted barbarian spoke thus an unheard-of effort is made by neo-barbarians on the border of his Hungary to build a monster realm of the "same language and the same habit." "*Imbecile et fragile est*," replies the Holy King.

BÉLA MENCZER.

FINLAND: DEMOCRACY AND FOREIGN POLICY.

AT a time when there is so much ideological conflict among the nations, when the terms "Fascism," "Democracy" and "Communism" are hurled about with little conception of their real meaning, it is specially interesting to watch what is happening in the Finnish democracy which has in fact succeeded in steering a course midway between the two extremes. The Republic of Finland has just celebrated the twentieth anniversary of her independence. During these years the fight against Communism, which was never serious after the war of 1918, has ended with the exclusion of Communists from parliamentary representation. On the other hand, any tinge of so-called Fascism that emerged from the Lapua Movement against Communism remains a negligible quantity in the country to-day. Finland is a country where democracy has been most successful, and may be regarded as a model in this respect. The fact that the Finns are a highly educated peasant people has prevented any real class distinctions ; and this, combined with the absence of any great wealth and comparatively no poverty, has greatly contributed to the solidarity of the nation. But this is not to say that the Finnish system of government has succeeded simply because of its democratic label. It has succeeded because the Finns have chosen a form of government specially suitable to their needs and capabilities.

The co-operative movement, which is probably more successful and more advanced in Finland than anywhere else, is an example of the Finns' capacity to obtain the best results by united effort. The co-operative societies have the wholehearted support of the farmers, who obtain by this means better prices for their produce, while the consumers benefit from cheaper distribution. The agricultural producers are also encouraged to increase their financial returns by payments based on quality as well as quantity. The people are naturally suited to such a system, by which they achieve better results than would otherwise be possible. The standard of living in Finland is high, yet the cost of living is low compared with British prices. The housing accommodation for town workers is very good, and it is interesting to note that the large industrial enterprises have done much to bring this

about. Many of the buildings are provided by the employers, and in some cases land for cultivation by the workers is also supplied. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that the newest dwelling-houses in the towns and rural centres of industry are for comfort among the best in Europe.

The trade union movement is not yet so far advanced as in other Scandinavian countries. This is partly due to the fact that industrial labour (about 60 per cent. of the people are employed in agriculture) is a comparatively recent development ; but it is also a result of the young trade unions taking part in politics and suffering from the mistakes of the Social-Democratic and Communist parties of earlier days. Although unemployment during the world depression of 1931-2 affected nearly 6 per cent. of the workers in various trades, the number of unemployed in the last three years has been negligible. This is due to the relatively small proportion of industrial workers in an agricultural country. Unemployment benefit has therefore never been found necessary, although the newly constituted trade unions assist unemployed members on occasions when unemployment is caused by strikes. Until recently the only form of compulsory insurance in Finland was that relating to accidents, and this only applies to those employed on manual labour. In this category the whole cost of insurance is paid by the employer, but there is no provision for those who work with their brains. Nor is there any general scheme for insurance against sickness. This deficiency is however met by means of private funds and societies, and in case of sickness a worker is further entitled under the Labour Contract Law to wages corresponding to the period of notice in his particular trade up to a maximum of fourteen days' pay. The form of insurance to which the Finns attach most importance at present is that for old age and disablement, for which there is now a law making this form of insurance compulsory for everyone from the age of 18 onwards. In this question of insurance, as well as in social services, the Finns have advanced ideas ; and no visitor to Finland fails to be impressed by the up-to-date public institutions for the welfare of the people. This is largely due to the high cultural level of the people, who take a great interest in all social questions.

Finland's economic policy is based on the belief that countries benefit more from the free exchange of goods than by

attempts to attain self-sufficiency by restrictions of all kinds. As in 1936 her imports amounted to over £28,000,000 and her exports to over £31,000,000, her trade balance was on the right side. In the same way there never have been any restrictions on currency or commercial exchange, and this freedom of trade has encouraged private enterprise to put forward its best efforts even during the most difficult years of trade depression. Yet Finland was compelled to follow the other Scandinavian countries in abandoning the gold standard. This, however, had the effect of stabilising the currency, which has remained steady ever since. Although as independent as any country in Europe, and more independent than many, this northern republic essentially forms part of the peace-loving Scandinavian family, whose political, economic and cultural interests are intimately bound up with one another.

Before turning to the question of foreign policy let us consider the reasons why Finland strongly favours a policy of peace. To begin with, a population of about 3,980,000 with under ten inhabitants to the square kilometre is not one of the factors that give rise to thoughts likely to lead to warlike designs. In addition to this, the Finns live in the sixth largest country in Europe, and have never yet experienced such a thing as land shortage. Although a considerable part of the country lies north of the Arctic Circle and there is much other land unsuitable for cultivation, there is an adequate amount of undeveloped but cultivable land to meet the natural increase of the population. Another point to remember is that Finland's principal source of wealth lies in timber, in which there has been less over-production than in most other industries. There is therefore no struggle for new markets, while a sufficiency of raw materials precludes the necessity of looking for them elsewhere. Geographically the country has a seaboard adequate for its maritime needs, and for defensive purposes is more favourably placed than many others. Above all, a people vitally dependent on their exports cannot but be gravely apprehensive of anything that would hamper international trade. "Peace" is therefore the watchword of Finnish foreign policy.

Hence the most striking characteristic of Finnish foreign policy is a desire to keep out of all groupings of Powers which might involve the country in conflict arising out of interests

and disputes that do not concern the Finnish people in their isolated northern position. This is specially the case with regard to the present critical state of European affairs brought about by ideological groupings. In Finland, where freedom of thought has long been regarded as the birthright of the people (this applies to all the North European countries), the rise to power in a foreign country of the representatives of any particular political thought in no way affects the general attitude of the nation towards that country. The Finns believe in minding their own business and in leaving others to mind theirs. It is this way of thinking by all sections of the Finnish people that forms the foundation on which Finland's foreign policy is firmly based. But in the appreciation of the wisdom of such a policy Finland does not stand alone. Her views are shared by the other Scandinavian countries, whose neutrality policies have already become traditional. Hence the Finnish desire to maintain neutrality in all circumstances has brought her, also with regard to foreign policy, into the closest co-operation with her Scandinavian neighbours. Although this Scandinavian orientation of Finland was formally declared only a few years ago, when it was unanimously approved by the Finnish Parliament, it is only one of the many forms of co-operation which have long existed between the peoples of Northern Europe. Such collaboration in most spheres of life is only natural among people with no outstanding disputes to settle, with a common religion and history, and with similar legislative, administrative, economic, judicial and social conditions. Furthermore, their Scandinavian languages (Swedish is the second language of Finland) are so similar that the peoples have little difficulty in understanding one another.

A striking feature of this political collaboration between the North European countries is the absence of written treaties or pacts, which are regarded as superfluous and even undesirable in some ways. But this does not mean that the Scandinavian peoples have lost faith in written agreements and regard them as mere " scraps of paper." It is an outcome of the fact that these countries co-operate so naturally and with such general approval on all sides that there is nothing to be gained by written documents. Moreover, their absence gives more elasticity to a form of collaboration solely based on common interests and historical facts, and leaves the way open for changes in method of execution as circumstances demand.

There are already signs that any deterioration of the international situation has the effect of tightening up this common orientation of the north. Furthermore, it is owing to initiative from this common source that the " Oslo Group " came into being—now consisting of the North European countries, Holland, Belgium, and in a sense Switzerland, but open to any other countries that may wish to participate. While its primary object is to facilitate international trade, the group is also referred to as the " Group of Neutral Countries," which also confer on questions of a purely political nature.

There remains to record the relations between Finland and certain individual countries where she has interests of various kinds. Ever since the conclusion in 1920 of the Treaty of Dorpat, successive Finnish governments of different political views have all without exception tried to develop the same friendly relations with Russia as with all other countries, and to-day there are no outstanding questions on either side. Yet, in spite of these continued efforts, there have appeared from time to time in Russian and other foreign newspapers reports that Finland has entered into some kind of agreement with certain great Powers against Russia. In this there is no truth whatever, as is obvious from the Finnish policy already outlined, and as is shown by the official visit to Moscow of M. Holsti, the Finnish Foreign Minister, in February of last year. On this occasion M. Holsti had the opportunity of discussing with the political leaders of the U.S.S.R. various questions that might benefit from exchanges of view, and these conversations were conducted in a friendly spirit. This visit also had the effect of showing the world that Finland sincerely desires to preserve good relations with Russia, and since then mutual confidence has improved. Unfortunately certain frontier incidents from the Russian side have given a check to Finnish confidence ; but, however regrettable these incidents may be, the Finnish Government will not permit these local affairs to check their continuous efforts to bring Finnish-Russian relations into line with the good relations existing between Finland and other countries.

Finland has always been on the best terms with her southern neighbours in the Baltic States, especially with Estonia. Estonia is Finland's opposite number across the water, and the two peoples are closely tied by bonds of race and language. Also, Finland's relations with Poland have

always been most friendly and satisfactory in every way. Between Finnish and German ports there has long been much coming and going. Next to Great Britain, Finland's best customer is Germany, who not only buys a large quantity of goods from the ever-growing industries of Finland, but also takes from her a considerable amount of agricultural produce, on the export of which the Finnish peasants depend to a considerable degree. On the other hand Finland buys machinery, etc., in important quantities from Germany. But perhaps the most interesting feature of Finnish-German relations is the fact that the advent to power of an autocratic form of government in Germany has in no way affected Finland's friendly relations with a country that is governed on purely autocratic lines. An appreciation of this is to be found in the reception given to the Finnish Foreign Minister when he visited Berlin last year.

Relations with Great Britain are, specially from an economic point of view, the most important of all ; for we are Finland's best customer. But Anglo-Finnish relations are also based on the fact that the Finns have got into the way of regarding Great Britain with her smooth-running parliamentary system as a safeguard for democracy in its various forms throughout the world. These considerations have not only intensified the confidence of the Finns in Britain at a time when the autocratic form of government finds favour in many countries, but they have produced in Finland an increasing desire to know more about British economic, cultural and social conditions. In recent years great efforts have been made, specially among the younger Finns, to learn the English language ; and this has received quite an important stimulus from the ever-increasing number of British visitors to Finland. At the Coronation last year, Finland was represented by the Foreign Minister and the Commander-in-Chief of the Army. Prominent among those who have worked for a high standard of friendship between Great Britain and Finland is Field-Marshal Baron Mannerheim, President of the Finnish Council of Defence, who has paid many visits to England and other parts of the Empire. On this side another distinguished soldier, Lieutenant-General Sir George Macdonogh, has, as President of the Anglo-Finnish Society in London, devoted much of his time through a long period of years to the fostering of mutual co-operation and friendship.

Among the factors which have in recent years helped to increase the interest of the Finns in the Anglo-Saxon world is the friendship and sympathy shown them by the United States. As in recent decades hundreds of thousands of Finnish emigrants have made their new homes across the Atlantic, it naturally follows that there should be a great number of ties of personal relationship binding the two countries together. Finnish blood ties with the United States date back to the foundation of the settlement at Delaware, where the Finnish Government will be represented at the tercentenary celebrations this year.

As far as other countries are concerned, an important recent development has been the growth of interest in Finnish progress during the last ten years. This progressive northern State is attracting more and more attention from the states of Central and Southern Europe, as shown by the increasing number of visitors from these countries in recent years. With France cultural relations have been established since the Middle Ages, when Finnish professors held high positions in the University of Paris, and this mutual interest has been maintained. With Italy there has lately been a development of cultural relations both on the part of the Finns and by Italian professors who have been sent to Finland.

As the present disputes that divide Europe against herself do not really concern Finland, her official attitude, as well as that of public opinion generally, is as a matter of course one of passive reserve. The only aspects of the Spanish civil war that have interested the Finns in any way have been the threat to the general peace of Europe, interference with Finnish-Spanish trade, and such minor inconveniences as have been caused to their merchant shipping. Otherwise this conflict of ideologies has no repercussions in Finland, where the people have more sense than to get all heated up over a quarrel that is no concern of theirs. Of still less concern to Finland is the trouble in the Far East.

Here is a nation of highly educated peasant people of the hard-thinking and cool-headed variety, who have chosen for themselves a form of democracy which has in Finland produced the very best results. They are satisfied ; they preach nothing ; they are content to practise the virtue of minding their own national business to their own benefit and that of their neighbours and friends.

E. W. Polson Newman.

CREATIVE EDUCATION.

LET me first try to define what I mean by Creative Education, which, when properly understood and practised, may prove to be the most important advance in modern times in public school and secondary education. The term, as I use it, means the use of a wide range of manual and noble activities as definite instruments of spiritual, physical and intellectual education. Until recently manual activities in public schools were frequently regarded with suspicion, were generally non-existent, and in many schools were at least little more than an unimportant " extra " for the boys who desired them. Even now this position is unchanged in a great number of public schools. It is also particularly to be regretted that in many schemes of reorganisation undertaken by public bodies in connection with secondary education some schools are maintained on an almost exclusively academic basis, whilst the higher types of elementary schools, such as the senior and central schools, have a more liberal curriculum so far as creative activities are concerned. What has still to be generally recognised is that creative activities are essential accompaniments to all forms of education. In the not distant future they will play a greater part not only in the schools but in the universities.

I can best illustrate my meaning by describing briefly some of the methods followed at Bembridge. Every boy during the whole of his school life is taught the use of tools. His timetable includes a regular weekly period, usually lasting for half a school day, in the arts and crafts rooms. He makes, in co-operation with others, simple, useful things for common use, and is given whatever expert help is necessary to enable him to express his own sense of craftsmanship and reach a high level of work. In the free parts of his time and on his half-holidays, every boy may go voluntarily to the arts and crafts rooms, and there design and make anything which he desires and have expert assistance in doing this. In this way there has been brought into the life of every boy in the school a large number of good hobbies and interests. These have naturally led, as boys leave school, to noble interests in life, and it is possible to record certain definite conclusions as a result of the work which has been carried on. The more important of these are as follows :

1. It has been found that the practice of manual activities has a definite influence upon the intellectual development of the boy. It is very good for the most intellectual, for it brings a balancing factor into their lives. It is very good for the boy who may not be particularly good at intellectual work in its narrower scope, for the method helps him with his intellectual work and enables him to keep his self-respect. Not only the hand and eye but the brain is being trained.

2. The work brings great joy into a boy's life. A busy boy is a happy boy, and a happy boy is a good boy in the real meaning of the word. Under the system adopted, a boy is enabled to realise in some degree his own aptitudes, and ultimately expresses himself in his work.

3. The system enables a boy unconsciously to attain an appreciation of real values in life and gives him standards of judgment. It enables him to place games in a proper perspective, and, whilst not interfering in the least degree with his love for them, it helps him to bring into and keep in his life other and more permanent interests.

Our own school is near the sea with the greater life that it means for all its members. I suppose it would be difficult to over-estimate the happiness brought into the lives of youth by the activities possible in and on the sea. But let me give one instance of what Creative Education means in this connection. Our boys, trained regularly in the use of tools, in the principles of construction and in true craftsmanship, turn naturally in their spare time to create the things they want for their own use and pleasure, and these things naturally include boats and canoes. On half-holidays the school bay is gay with little fleets of canoes, each paddled or sailed by its owner-maker.

Let me briefly describe what the building of a canoe means in the life of a boy. The making of it forms a splendid hobby for him in winter evenings, bringing him great happiness. He is increasing his powers of craftsmanship, for the building of a canoe requires sincere and careful work. It is in a broad sense a piece of work which gives him standards of criticism and appreciation of what constitutes true beauty. A boat is one of the most beautiful things made by man. It achieves beauty by the absence of needless ornamentation, by being constructed solely with a view to its function, and by its craftsmanship. Even the making of a canoe enables a boy to realise these things and to get a little understanding of the

vital principles of beauty. When the canoe is finished another part of its influence comes into play for, if the boy has not already done so, he must obtain a certificate of honour by swimming half a mile in the open sea. This is a condition of his being able to use the canoe at all. A boy who can swim half a mile in a fresh sea has a splendid training in courage and resourcefulness, and has permanently added to his equipment for life. The use of the canoe on the sea is not only a constant delight, but it is associated with other good hobbies in the life of the boy. He uses it, for instance, to go on photographic expeditions, to paint the rocks off Culver, to study the life of sea birds, to add to the records in his commonplace book. Here then you have a striking example of what one item of creative work means in the life of the individual boy.

At Bembridge drawing is taught to every boy at every stage of his school life. If he enters at the age of 7 and leaves at 19 nothing has ever interrupted his work in drawing and allied subjects. Drawing should not be taught at school with the object of making boys professional painters. It should be taught to give them the opportunity of giving expression to their creative faculties. It is perhaps equally important in the case of young boys as it is in the case of older boys. But the technique of young boys and of older boys is different in vital respects, and masters responsible for guiding them must recognise this difference and be sympathetic towards forms of expression which might at first appear strange and incoherent.

I have sometimes been asked whether every boy is capable of drawing, and I have replied that I have never met a normal boy who could not be taught to draw. My friend, Donald Maxwell, who has enriched life with so many drawings of landscapes and buildings and was one of the pioneers in connection with the decorative posters which do something to redeem even the squalor of the English railway station, confirmed my own experience. Everyone, he told me on one occasion, could be taught to draw what was seen provided it was stationary. He told me an experience of his own. He had made an after-dinner speech and had expressed this view. A retired Colonel sitting next to him had listened to him incredulously. " Do you mean to tell me," he asked at a later stage of the proceedings, " that I could learn to draw at the age of 60 ? " " Certainly," replied Maxwell ; " I am willing

to prove to you the truth of my observation." There was further conversation and argument. The two men were friends and Maxwell arranged to give the Colonel a demonstration lesson the following morning. The room in which it took place overlooked a cathedral and the pupil was told to begin to draw it. He was to begin at one end and to draw exactly what he saw. "But," said he, "I only see a straight line." "Then draw it," said Maxwell; "if it looks to you quite straight you can rule it." "Would that be quite the thing to do?" asked the Colonel. "Certainly," said Maxwell; "this is not a lesson in morals." The experiment went on, and was successful; the Colonel was convinced of his power to draw and pursued his new interest with enthusiasm. Maxwell ended his account of this incident by declaring that a year later the Colonel sent one of his drawings to the Royal Academy where it was accepted and exhibited. I will not answer for this final flourish, but the rest of the story is true.

The values of the regular practice of art as an essential part of the school curriculum are many. I should like to summarise them. The power of observation is developed and the student is enabled to see life from new angles. It is not an exaggeration to say that he acquires new powers of understanding which help him not only in many other subjects but in his life as a whole. His work in drawing would include, for instance, nature study with its records of flowers and trees, birds and animals and the other wonders of the natural world. He thus acquires not only a knowledge of nature but a love of beauty and an understanding and sympathy which he could probably acquire in no other way. As he becomes conscious of his own powers and of the interest of the new world he has entered, he experiments in all kinds of ways and brings constant enrichment to his own life. He is able to relate the subject to other interests and studies, architecture, literature, design of common things in common life.

It is natural that boys should be led on from their practical work in art to be interested in pictures generally and in the art of other countries. My own experience has been that boys eagerly avail themselves of the opportunity to examine great pictures and to study the lives and times of great painters. All branches of the work in art are greatly helped by the foundation of two art galleries at the school. These contain not only a great collection of original drawings

by Ruskin, but also works by other great painters including Albert Goodwin, Walter Crane, Sir Edward Burne-Jones, Arthur Severn, Edward Clifford, and T. M. Rooke.

These galleries are open for boys to visit singly or in little groups. Every Sunday afternoon, for instance, receptions are held there, and all boys are invited in turn to visit them then, apart from other occasions. The attempt is made to teach boys how to use an art gallery. They are not invited to make themselves familiar with all the contents of the galleries at one visit, but some detail of the subject of art is taken. The boys have one or two pictures explained to them, and, by being taken along gently, lose their shyness of pictures. By understanding one artist, or a great picture of one painter, they acquire a key with which they can gradually unlock other rooms in the mansion of art.

Not only are pictures shown in these galleries, but an attempt has been made to furnish the galleries with examples of practically all the arts of civilised man. Thus there are examples of old oak furniture, wood-carving, sculpture, pottery, metal-work, stained glass, writing, bookbinding. Everything in the galleries has been made by either old or modern craftsmen. A boy is therefore able to see examples of simple, beautiful things, and to live amongst them. He has explained to him from time to time some of the principles of beauty, and is thus able to cultivate his own taste and judgment.

We have a private printing press at Bembridge, which has been a great cultural influence. All boys up to a certain form have one or two periods a week in school time in the printing room. It forms a very pleasant change from the ordinary work of the form rooms. The boys regard it as a time of sheer joy and it is all to the good that they do. But the period spent with the press is also directly educational. Boys set up on the same hand press which Morris used for the Kelmscott books things they have written themselves or their friends have written. It increases their interest in literary activities. They learn to spell correctly unconsciously, for they set up letter by letter and correct their mistakes. They add to their standards of taste, for they set up according to the old principles introduced when printing was discovered and never bettered since. These principles affect margins, purity of type, relation of the type to the page, and other things which every educated person should be able to appreciate.

Perhaps not the least of the advantages of a private press is that it offers boys a little window through which to look upon the world of industry. They know something, at least, of one of the great crafts of civilisation. Every term the boys produce on their press a large, handsomely printed magazine. It includes examples of their work in art, and particularly woodcuts, designed, cut and printed by themselves. There is, therefore, a synthesis about all this work which makes it extremely valuable from an educational standpoint, as well as from a human one.

Space compels me to omit any detailed reference to other manual activities in the scheme of Creative Education, such as pottery—so useful for teaching the beauty of form and colour—the making of scientific and other models to illustrate school work in the form rooms ; the decoration of rooms by friezes and other schemes undertaken in fellowship ; practical work in the playing fields. I ought however at least to record that creative work is not confined to manual activities. Many literary experiments have been carried out. A group of boys undertook the study of various aspects of the district of which the school is the centre. Its history in Roman times was studied by one boy, its bird life by another, its literature by another, its geology by another. Regular meetings were held to discuss the results, and ultimately the collected papers were published under the title of *Bembridge : An Historical and Social Survey*, by the Oxford University Press. Not very long ago the boys of one form published a book entitled *A Form Room Fellowship*. It included poems, stories, essays and travel records, and was wholly the unaided work of the contributors. This book excited considerable attention both here and abroad. Another literary experiment was the bringing together of a number of papers on scientific subjects, under the general title of *Adventures in Science*, by the boy members of the Scientific Society. This book not only dealt with a number of scientific questions, including modern developments of science, but it contained a large number of illustrations done by the boys. Many other similar schemes have been carried out. They stand for a great amount of interest in intellectual things, and have encouraged the pursuit and love of literature.

It may be claimed without exaggeration that under a system of Creative Education a boy acquires a range of intelligent and satisfying hobbies with which his life is enriched.

These naturally lead to noble interests as a man. So far from hindering they greatly help his intellectual work and assist his success in formal examinations (we are proud of our own successes in these). They develop his personality in every way—not least in widening the range of his sympathies—especially by bringing him into touch with the spirit of the great creative workers of other ages and other lands. I think, too, he will be saved in this way from falling a victim to the mass mind. I suppose that one of the greatest creative workers in the history of mankind was Michelangelo. Four and a half centuries after his birth the civilised world still finds inspiration in the works of the man who brought life to stone and expressed with his mallet the sorrow and the hope of mankind ; who influenced a people with his paintings and made deathless the fame of the building which contains them ; who as an architect vitally influenced the buildings of Europe, and was withal a poet and philosopher holding fast to the cause of truth. Is it not worth while to remember that this man from his earliest years was fortunate in being under a system of natural creative education ? As a little motherless boy he was taken care of by the wife of a stonemason and found his chief joy in attempting to express his feelings and ideas by practising on stone with the mason's tools. Later he was able to see as a youth the finest work in all branches of creative art which was then being produced in Italy. He was able to develop his gifts and to experiment in nearly all of them. He thus preserved his own individuality. The influence of his practical work, aided by the constant stimulus around him to unite it with spiritual and intellectual adventure, produced the greatest inspiring genius of the age.

We are not setting out to produce a race of Michelangelos. Our object is a humbler one ; it is to give to our youth the environment and the opportunity to preserve their individuality, to develop their potential gifts and to acquire through the work of mind and hand a sense of final values. They may become members of a great brotherhood, which began centuries ago, and add to their academic equipment the sympathy, toleration, and love of truth which come to those who seek through their own work to add to the beauty of the world in human life and achievement.

J. Howard Whitehouse,
Warden of Bembridge School, Isle of Wight.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN BULGARIA.

WHILE the wave of Fascism is sweeping over the world with increased violence, the Bulgarian people are striving to re-establish the rule of democracy. After four years of a semi-dictatorial régime Bulgaria is again on the threshold of parliamentary government. During March general elections took place and 160 representatives of the people were returned. It is interesting to discover the grounds on which King Boris held the elections, and to estimate the result.

In his Introduction to Bagehot's *The English Constitution* Lord Balfour remarks: "Constitutions are easily copied, temperaments are not; and if it should happen that the borrowed constitution and the native temperament fail to correspond, the misfit may have serious results." When in 1879, after the liberation from the Turks, the Constitutional Assembly created a constitution, modelled on the most democratic Western constitutions, the truth of any conception like Lord Balfour's could barely influence the jubilant members of the Assembly. They were the same men who took part in the gallant struggles to liberate their country from the five-hundred-year-long Turkish yoke. The memory of oppression, tyranny and cruelty was still very much alive in their minds. The ideal of freedom which upheld the national spirit intact for five centuries was attained. So they embodied it in the constitution of the reborn Bulgarian State.

For more than fifty years the country has been ruled according to the new constitution. Perhaps the temperament of the people did not quite correspond to the new constitutional principles, or perhaps the people were not yet mature enough to employ successfully the sacred dream of liberty for the practical uses of everyday life; but the Parliamentary régime in Bulgaria has shown at times serious signs of disease. After the Great War the record became rather disquieting. The standards of political life, due to a great extent to the disastrous clauses of the Peace Treaty and Bulgaria happening to be in the losing camp, deteriorated considerably. The number of rival parties grew with unusual speed, and often the divisions merely represented the selfish ambitions of would-be political leaders. This multiplication of rival

groups, coupled with the instability of the administration, brought about corruption and jobbery, and tended to foster terrorism. Violent methods were used often in the political struggles, culminating in the bombing outrage in Sofia Cathedral, which resulted in the loss of hundreds of lives.

Army leaders grew increasingly interested in politics and decided to play some part in it. Two *coups d'état* were performed with the help of the Army. While the first, in 1923, changed only the *personnel* without infringing the constitutional order, the second of May 19th, 1934, abolished every semblance of democratic life. Parliament was dismissed, the Constitution was suspended, political parties were abolished and the Press was put under strict censorship. The new men who, backed by the military force of the country, took the wheel of government in their hands proclaimed the birth of a new era. Their ascent to power came at a very favourable psychological moment for their ideas. The people longed for new methods which would bring decency in politics. Thus, when the new rulers fiercely attacked the shortcomings of the party system, the first reactions in large sections of the population were, if not enthusiastic, favourable. The people, while not approving of the methods employed for the effected change of government, agreed with the severe criticisms of the past. They decided to judge the new leaders by their deeds.

Here came the tragedy of a dictatorship which proved to be unable to benefit even by the most obvious advantages left by its predecessors. The people desired a spirit of unity, honest leaders to employ it in the right direction. They hated the abuses associated with the democratic constitution, but liked the constitution itself and the ideas behind it. They would have greeted with enthusiasm a new and honest interpretation of it. This the new rulers failed to understand. They attacked the constitution itself instead of exposing the politicians who had abused it. They showed from the beginning a lack of unity among themselves. They possessed no outstanding personality. The most significant figures who planned and carried out the *coup d'état* remained behind the scenes after their initial success, and desired to direct the State from the background without taking any responsibilities. The new régime proved to be a dictatorship without a dictator.

Failing thus to establish themselves as a respected government, they continued to undermine their position by exposing their complete lack of any positive programme for domestic reforms. They were strong only in negation. Project after project was entertained and abandoned. The people grew increasingly impatient and discontented. Many papers were suppressed and the rest were under a rigid censorship. The freedom of the platform was equally destroyed. Between Government and people grew a thick wall of aloofness and distrust. Hundreds of Government orators sent to towns and villages to spread the new creed could not move the hearts of the people.

The position of King Boris was most difficult. When on the night of the *coup d'état* he received the unexpected visit of the rulers of the morrow, he found himself in a painful dilemma—to work with the new political forces who had behind them the strength of the Army and only vague ideas of government, or to abdicate. The first course meant deviation from his strong democratic feelings, the second course spelled serious disorders and perhaps revolution. He chose the first alternative in the belief that by tact and conciliation he would be able to restore the country to normal political life. He changed Cabinets and Ministers. He met difficulties everywhere. Many of the military leaders began to realise that, though genuine and honest, their desire to reorganise the State on a semi-dictatorial basis did not correspond to the deep-rooted affection of the people for freedom and democracy ; but it was difficult for them to admit their error.

At the first signs of hesitation on the part of the King, an extreme group of military men tried again to conspire against him. They were put on trial and sentenced to death by a military tribunal. He exercised his right of mercy and the sentence of death was commuted to imprisonment. Disliked by the extremists of the Army for his democratic leanings, suspected by the former party leaders of trying to establish a personal dictatorship, and faced by the strong popular disapproval of dictatorial methods, he had to move very cautiously. Some of the extreme officers were dismissed, others concentrated again on purely military matters. When he felt himself strong enough, he proclaimed his intention to hold elections and re-establish Parliament.

The Government of M. Kiosseivanoff, a devoted friend of

the King, promulgated a new electoral law, which was declared to be an outcome of the general desire to give the people their share in the government and to avoid the shortcomings of the old system. Its most characteristic feature is the exclusion of the political parties as organisers of public opinion and a medium for expressing the will of the people and providing candidates. The ban on the political parties remained : only individual candidates could stand as individuals. Candidates had to be over 30 years of age, to possess a moderate educational qualification and to have paid their taxes. They had to declare that they did not belong to movements employing violent methods and that they would, if elected, stand for the interests of the whole people, not for group or class interests. They were disqualified if they had been convicted or were on trial for treason or other major crimes, or if they had served foreign countries without the consent of the Government. Every candidate had to register his candidature with the district judge, and, if found qualified, was allowed to address meetings and employ other means for canvassing during the electoral campaign. For the first time Bulgarian women obtained the right to vote.

The number of candidates for the 160 constituencies was over a thousand. The results, as officially stated, are : 104 supporters of the Government and 56 oppositionists. The interest shown by the electorate surpassed expectation. A good sign of the growing sense of responsibility was the fact that for the first time for many years elections were held without the usual disturbances and even bloodshed. The large number of candidates caused such a splitting of the votes that only about 25 per cent. of the elected received more than half the votes in their respective constituencies. The authors of the *coup d'état* of 1934 were defeated.

How is the new system going to work ? Will it be permanent, or will it be just a stepping-stone ? A definite answer cannot be given before Parliament has assembled. Some indications are found in a recent declaration of the Prime Minister, who stated that it would have the functions laid down by the old Constitution. It would exercise control over the Government and vote the budget. Its first task would be to pass the laws promulgated by the Government. The régime would be parliamentary but without political parties.

Before summoning Parliament, the Cabinet held conferences

during the past few weeks with the supporters of the Government. The resolutions embodied the ideas of the Prime Minister's declaration. They also demanded annulment of the mandates of some of the opposition who, it is alleged, were elected as a result of Soviet radio propaganda in their favour. If such a purge is effected when the Chamber meets, it will decrease the size of the Opposition. The Moscow broadcasts lasted throughout the electoral campaign. They were in Bulgarian and consisted of attacks on the Government and elaborate propaganda for the opposition candidates. The Prime Minister protested vigorously to the Soviet Government, but the broadcasts continued. Bulgarian technicians failed to jam the powerful Moscow station. Thus an unusual violation of international ethics took place on the shores of the Black Sea almost unnoticed by the Western Powers, which were occupied with the position in Central Europe.

What of the future? One thing is clear beyond doubt. There is a strong drive towards establishing the rule of democracy. That drive reflects the national disposition of the people, expressed so vividly during the short-lived experiment in semi-dictatorship. The new order is an experiment in semi-democracy, a considerable step towards full democratic régime. It does not entirely correspond with the British ideas, but we have to bear in mind that it is not the final form of government. New forms may be introduced. Perhaps in this method of applying the basic idea of freedom and democracy to the possibilities of practical life, a constitution will be created suited to the temperament of the people. It is consoling to think that in the heart of this people the torch of freedom and democracy burns and calls for action. The best proof of that was the national character of the funeral of Alexander Malinoff. He had devoted his life to the building of democratic institutions. Leader of the former Democratic Party, leader in Parliament and several times Prime Minister, he had been the staunchest supporter of democracy in Bulgaria. He died on the platform while speaking on the eve of the elections. He was buried as a national hero and mourned by the whole nation. His death is a symbol of the resolution of the honest democratic leaders to fight to the end for their principles; his funeral showed the appreciation of these principles by the masses and their desire to follow them.

N. Pentcheff.

MISSOLONGHI.

WITHIN easy access of Patras, beyond Leukadio Point on the other side of the gulf, lies the little town of Missolonghi. The crossing takes about an hour. The gulf was smooth and glassy at six o'clock in the morning, reflecting the blue heaven above it. The sun had not yet looked over the edges of Sappho's black, frowning precipices as we drew in to the tiny quay. The small curve of water at their base was of a bitumen darkness. About two hours of railway travelling between the sea and a long line of blue-brown hills brought me to Missolonghi.

When I began asking the way to Byron's house, no one seemed to know whom or what I was talking about. Byron? No such person lived there. Oh yes—there was a Byron Hotel; I should come to it if I kept straight on. At last a dim recollection seemed to dawn on someone, and orders were given to a regiment of children—evidently some school let out—to conduct me somewhere. We marched through the streets and arrived at the sea. Standing a little back from the others, with an untidy garden in front fenced off from the road by a high iron railing, was a house with a balcony on the first floor and windows on either side of it. The whole place looked neglected, but it was inhabited, so I was not able to go in. This did not much matter, however, as I understood afterwards that the house in which Byron had lived was pulled down a long time ago, and this one was built on the site. In front was a harbour encircled by sand-banks, with only two or three outlets crossed by bridges. Two thatched fishing huts looked golden against the silky blue of the sea and mountains. To the right as one faced the sea was the long succession of rocky islets—the Scrophes—on which Byron's ship had struck twice and just missed being wrecked.

Surely few historical incidents are as touching and pathetic as the death scene of this man, who had come out to devote his genius, his fortune, and finally his life to a cause which he had dreamt of so ardently in his youth, but which he could scarcely have imagined would take the shape of a practical possibility in such a short time. A man whose thoughts had flamed through the whole of Europe, inspiring poets and thinkers with the loftiest ideas of beauty and freedom—even in Russia and the cold recesses of the Caucasus, men like Pushkin,

Turgenieff and Lermontoff moulded their work on Byron's. A proud, sensitive man, whom the homage of the most brilliant intellects of a whole continent could not satisfy while his own country branded him as an outlaw; although he chose to hide his feelings under a mask of devilry and drown them in a life of abandonment and excess. How many men after leading such a life have had the strength of character to break away from it when they so desired, to undertake a task as difficult as the liberation of an oppressed nation, and to bring to its achievement a mind whose strength was unimpaired by the wanton usage to which it had been put?

Eight long years of bitter fighting, and then the intervention of the European Powers, followed Byron's death before the end was in sight; and he himself had no illusions about the difficulties awaiting him when he set sail for Greece. With the object of enlisting the sympathies of Europe to their cause as many young men as could went to the European universities to study, and there formed revolutionary committees. Doubtless they hoped that the Powers—or at any rate Russia, who had always tried to obtain a footing in the Balkans—would come to their assistance—"as if," says Moore, "the Courts of Europe would, now or ever, regard with favour the attempt of any people, under any circumstances, to be their own emancipators." Byron himself had said as much in his well-known lines:

> Trust not for freedom to the Franks,
> They have a king who buys and sells;
> In native swords and native ranks
> The only hope of courage dwells.
> But Turkish swords and Latin fraud
> Would break your shields, however broad.

And again:

> Greeks must free Greece,
> Not the Barbarian, with his mask of peace.

Those connected, like the present writer, with other unhappy nations, know only too well the wisdom of such warnings.

Colonel Napier, the British Resident at Kephalonia, says that of all those who came to help in the revolution only two justly estimated the character of the Greeks; Byron was one of them. "He came," he writes, "not thinking to find them good, but to make them better. . . . Others came and fled,

expecting to find the Peloponnesus filled with Plutarch's men, they returned thinking the inhabitants of Newgate more moral." Byron thought he could help in at least three ways : by rendering financial assistance, by keeping the Greek leaders from quarrelling amongst themselves, and by trying to humanise the feelings on both sides, and so mitigating the horrors of the war. " As for his generosity," writes Colonel Stanhope, " it is before the world. He promised to devote his large income to the cause of Greece, and he honestly acted up to his pledge." Amongst the deeds of humanity recorded of him is his returning to the Turks many Turkish prisoners who had fallen into the hands of the Greeks. He sent a courteous letter with them, begging the Turkish Governor, if he remembered this act, to show the same leniency to any Greeks that might fall into his hands during the war ; and he promised a reward for every Turkish prisoner taken alive by the Greeks.

A provisional government had been formed in Western Greece under Prince Mavrocordato, and it was at their invitation to go and help that Byron decided to undertake the task. But he was unlucky from the very start. On putting out from Leghorn they were met by contrary winds, which damaged the ship so badly that they had to turn back into port for repairs. It had been decided that he should land first at one of the Ionian Islands—then under British rule—to inform himself accurately about the state of affairs in Greece. Colonel Napier, the Resident at Kephalonia, was a liberal-minded man, but not knowing the attitude that England would take up with regard to the struggle, Byron hesitated some time before landing, lest he should embarrass or offend the officials on the island. He remained six weeks on the ship which had brought him, living in the most uncomfortable way—" pent up with pigs and poultry "—and ships were not then what they are now. When finally he did land, he and the English residents on the island were mutually surprised and charmed with each other—there had been so much prejudice on both sides. The meeting was extraordinarily cordial, and at a dinner offered him by the officers of the garrison, he was so touched with the toast to his health that he expressed his regret at not being able to reply adequately in English " on account of his having spoken a foreign tongue so long."

Meanwhile all over Greece the leaders were impatiently awaiting his arrival, so at last he decided to cross over. They

were chased by a Turkish frigate on the way, and had to put in at the harbour of Dragomestri, where they waited for five days before a Greek gunboat could come to take them on. It was the beginning of January, and Byron indulged in a long swim in the cold, wintry waves, which his friends considered the first cause of his fatal illness. Continuing their voyage they were twice driven on to the Scrophes, where, had it not been for Byron's presence of mind, the men would have abandoned the ship and lost all the food and money they were carrying for the relief of Missolonghi, which was being blockaded by the Turks. When at last they did get to Missolonghi they had the utmost difficulty in landing. The scene of this landing, when the idol of Europe set foot in this small, besieged Grecian town to help them in their struggle for liberty, must have been truly thrilling. He was met by the whole population, the troops, and the military and civilian dignitaries, with Prince Mavrocordato at their head; while shouts, music and discharges of artillery accompanied him to his house.

Nearly four months of strenuous work followed. All was chaos in Missolonghi. One of Byron's most difficult tasks was to keep the peace between the Greek leaders. As in the case of their ancestors, their greatest advantage lay in the character of the country. In the mountainous districts the people had never been thoroughly subdued by the Turks, who extorted as much revenue as they could out of them, and then offended their own government by sending them as little as possible of the plunder. The country was broken up by cross factions and divisions, of which the Greek chieftains were not slow in taking advantage, and although they were all united in desiring the liberty of Greece, each thought that his own way was the right one, and hoped to be favoured and supported by the great Englishman. Byron pointed out the danger of this rivalry very clearly to them, but they were wild, turbulent and undisciplined. The troops were hungry, and thinking of plundering the town. The chieftains from the mountains assembled there with the object of organising affairs, but they were ready to fly at each other's throats.

An attack had been planned on Lepanto—the ancient Naupaktus of the Herakleidæ—as it was a fortified town and commanded the whole Gulf of Korinth. Byron was invested with full civil and military powers, and was implored to take

the lead. No doubt he felt flattered at this, and even his adoring biographer Moore admits that he undertook it "partly in the hope that it would lead him either to a glorious success or a glorious death," for at this time he was obsessed with a foreboding of his approaching end. But so wild and unmanageable were the elements with which they had to work that the enterprise was abandoned on the eve of the date fixed for it.

This disappointment, and the worries caused by the inextricable confusion around him, added to the miserable conditions under which he was living, brought on the fit that was the beginning of his last illness. The doctors were probably incompetent. They bled him, and could not stop the bleeding until he fainted. While he was still too weak to move from his place a band of mutinous Suliote troops broke wildly into his room, brandishing their swords and demanding what they considered their rights. Hungry as they were, with their families starving, this demonstration was the culminating point in all his dealings with them. But even then he was equal to the situation. "Electrified by this unexpected act," says Colonel Stanhope, "Lord Byron seemed to recover from his sickness, and the more they raged, the more his calm courage triumphed. The scene was truly sublime."

Even this did not make him draw back. Most of his letters at this time are orders to his bankers for the transmission of great sums of money, all to be spent in the Greek cause. And he writes to his doctor, who is urging him to leave on account of his health, that so long as his presence in Greece is of any use he will not consider his own interests. He now set about repairing the fortifications of Missolonghi, as an attack by the Turks was expected. He asked the engineers to make an estimate of the costs and quote only one-third of the figure, secretly promising that if the Greeks would pay that he would pay the rest. The fortifications were repaired and successfully withstood the attack.

And now some of Byron's English friends went over to the party of Odysseus in Eastern Greece, which made it even more difficult to induce the leaders to show a united front. A conference was to have been held at which the rival parties were to meet and discuss plans, but floods prevented its taking place; and in the meantime Missolonghi was again attacked by the Turks and rent by internal fighting.

So once more Byron remained on the spot, although his health was deteriorating more and more. He complained of giddiness, which he attributed to a "fulness of habit"—for he was still obsessed with his youthful horror of getting fat. But as he was leading a perfectly abstemious life, not touching either meat or spirits—and very little besides—the attacks of "vertigo" were more probably caused by extreme weakness. He rode out one day and was caught in a storm and drenched, which resulted in an attack of what the doctors diagnosed as rheumatic fever, followed by inflammation of the brain. The closing scenes are almost too painful to dwell on—the comfortless surroundings, the absence of everything that is necessary in a sick-room, the anxious crowds thronging the streets for news of his condition. Once more the doctors wanted to bleed him, and he resisted until they told him that if the fever were unchecked it might produce insanity. And when they wanted to put blisters on his feet he asked whether they "could apply both to the same foot," shrinking even in that condition from exposing his deformity. So the blisters were applied above the knees. And it would appear that the "strong anti-spasmodic potion" which they administered mercifully hastened the end, putting him into the twenty-four hours' sleep from which he never awoke.

Thus on that Greek Easter Eve passed away one of England's finest spirits, although she herself has not fully recognised him yet. The news was received with consternation all over Greece. The Provisional Government issued a proclamation that no Easter festivities were to be held, and all shops and public offices closed for three days; and a general mourning was ordered for twenty-one days. At dawn on Easter Sunday thirty-seven minute guns were fired, corresponding to the years of the deceased. Funeral services were held in all the churches and prayers and masses offered up. The body was embalmed, and carried to the church in a coffin that was a "rude, ill-constructed chest of wood," covered with a mantle for a pall, with a helmet, a sword and a crown of laurel on it. But, rude and primitive as were the surroundings, the scene was a very touching one, with the thronging crowds of mourners who had come to look their last on him.

The people of Missolonghi were anxious for him to be buried in their town. Odysseus and the Eastern Greeks wished to pay him the tribute of interring him in the Theseion at Athens.

But his English friends finally decided to convey him to England, leaving only his heart to be buried in Greece—" the only country," as he said, " that he had ever been contented in." He was buried at Bucknell, near Newstead Abbey, since the doors of St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey were closed to him. But One greater than the dignitaries of His Church received a malefactor who had fewer redeeming qualities than our Byron, into a holier place than any earthly temples.

Faults belong to human frailty, but genius and the passionate devotion to a noble ideal make of a man something more than average humanity. The testimony of all those who were intimately connected with him during this last phase of his life—high and low, English, Greek or Italian—all go to show how selfless he was, how considerate of others and beloved of all. The devotion of his servant Fletcher and his Venetian gondolier Tita is well known, as well as their grief at his loss. He had passed the difficult test of being a hero to his own valet.

His literary fame, which he guarded so jealously at first, became as nothing to him when he came into contact with the more poignant sides of life. " Poetry should only occupy the idle," he said. " In more serious affairs it would be ridiculous." So he broke even the string of his lyre at the altar of Greece—that lyre which had thrilled so many hearts, whose strains will hover eternally over the waters of " clear, placid Leman," and over the " holy " prison of Chillon where Bonnivard had worn away the rock with steps that " appeal from tyranny to God " ; and over this other land, which his glowing words have taught many besides himself to love so well.

ZABELLE C. BOYAJIAN.

ED.—A chapter from the author's forthcoming book, *In Greece with Pen and Palette.*

THE JANSEN CONTROVERSY.

WHEN Cornelius Jansen, sometime Professor of Theology at Louvain University, and Bishop of Ypres from 1636, died of the plague there in 1638, leaving behind him a work that was published two years after his death, he little dreamed of the controversy his writings were to rouse in a great neighbouring country—France, or that this controversy would rage over the greater part of two centuries. As everyone knows, the work left by Jansen was called *The Augustinus*, because in it the author supported the arguments of Saint Augustine concerning "Free Grace," in opposition to the opinion of the Pelagians, with whom he was disputing.

It seems quite possible that, other things being equal, the doctrine might have remained a purely academic question to be hammered out between the Dominicans and Augustinians on the one side, and the Franciscans and Jesuits on the other, for it was mainly an attempt to purify the Church of Rome from within, and in no sense intended as schism or heresy. That it came to be so regarded mainly resulted from the vehement outbursts of its earliest advocates in an attack upon the most powerful of these religious orders—the Jesuits, who struck back with every weapon on which they could lay their hands, and never desisted until they had laid their opponents in the dust.

Examined closely, Jansenism will be seen as an attempt to re-spiritualise religion which, during the recent disturbances in the realm, had grown into a mere formal lip-service and a dead, outward observance, lacking the inspiration of the soul. In some aspects the Jansenistic outlook tended somewhat towards an ecstatic mysticism which its opponents, the Jesuits, feared might withdraw worshippers from the active performance of good works, by which the Church was largely sustained. The popular Order of Jesus had at this time adopted an easy-going creed that was in no respect akin to the stern, high teaching of its great Namesake: they obtained influence over all classes by maintaining the theory that any sin could be atoned for by benefactions to the Church. Penitence did not matter very much, but there must be alms.

Not so the Jansenists: theirs was a much more uncomfortable doctrine. True and long repentance for sin was essential,

and even after this it did not follow that a soul would be saved unless God willed it, and chose him among the elect ! He had to be predestined to salvation ! This strange theory seems actually to have been held by Saint Augustine, who professed to deduce it from the teaching of Saint Paul. It was adopted by Calvin, and in this particular aspect of Jansenist doctrine the Jesuits might well cry out upon those who advocated it, that they were heretics.

> " Jansenism," observes M. Boulenger,* " was an episode of the Catholic reaction of the Seventeenth century against the religious anarchy, the heresy and the pagan ' libertinage ' of the Sixteenth."

He then goes on to quote Lanson :—

> " The years of dissension and misery which revived the energy of French souls, inclined them to evolve a hard, virile, and ascetic form of Catholicism, which, while asking much of man, gave him back much in depth of emotion and capacity for action." " Jansenism," continues Boulenger, " which prostrates man before a terrible God ; which fills him with despair by denying him even the assurance of salvation through his efforts ; which treats as a crime the love of art, science and even of Nature, . . . which systematically stripped the churches of ornament . . . this dreary and ardent creed was the antithesis of the amiable, facile and worldly faith of the Jesuits. Moreover, the company of Jesus felt itself to be menaced socially by the Jansenists, who competed with it successfully for the direction of souls and the education of children, and whom it considered the advance guard of its Gallican adversaries. This was why it attacked them from the outset."

But as early as 1594 the Society had already been attacked by a certain Dr. Antoine Arnauld, who was employed by the University of Paris, of which he was a distinguished ornament, to attack the Order of Jesuits, and to urge the State to expel them from France. Naturally the Society did not forget either this attack or the leader of it. An unlooked-for opportunity of repaying it was to arise at a later date, as will presently be seen.

The great apostle of Jansen's ideas in France was a certain Duvergier de Hauranne, Abbot of Saint Cyran in Paris. As early as 1632 he published his *Petrus Aurelius*. The Bishop of Langres was so impressed by the sanctity and learning of this great man, that he pressed him to undertake the

* *The Seventeenth Century*, pp. 266-9.

spiritual care and instruction of the nuns of the convent and monastery of Port Royal—a sisterhood of great sanctity who had formerly inhabited an old Cistercian house in the country near Chevreuse, known as Port Royal des Champs. They had moved to Paris partly because of the decay of the old building, and partly to enjoy the ministrations of this saintly spiritual adviser, the Abbot of Saint Cyran, under whose tutelage they imbibed the tenets of Jansen—possibly without realising whither it was going to lead them.

Now as the discovered author of the work *Petrus Aurelius* —a work hurled against the Jesuits, " which," says Racine, " smashed into powder all the replies of the Jesuits "—the Abbot of Saint Cyran was marked out for destruction. Mazarin imprisoned him, and he remained incarcerated till the Cardinal's death, but died soon after being set at liberty. His work was however accomplished. His espousal of the doctrines of Jansen—who in his *Augustinus* had combated the arguments of the prominent Jesuit Molina—was sufficient to condemn him and all who had listened to him, in the eyes of the Order. The fact that the family of the old Antoine Arnauld, who had attacked them in 1594, were the chief residents and recluses at Port Royal des Champs, that his widow had bought the house for the Paris branch of Port Royal, that his daughter was the Abbess there, that his sons, M. Andilly and Dr. Antoine Arnauld, with two nephews, lived at the old monastery and made it their permanent retreat from which they issued their famous writings, and where they took pupils, all this naturally proved that Jansenism and the Arnauld family were more or less identical. Matters came to a head when this same Antoine Arnauld issued a work in the late forties bearing the name of *De la Fréquente Communion.*

> " Although the Jesuits were not mentioned in the book," says Racine,* " it can scarcely be imagined with what fury they raged both against the book and against the author. They completely ignored the verdict of sixteen Bishops and Archbishops, and twenty-four of the most celebrated Doctors of the Faculty whose approbation was printed on the title-page. . . . They ordered all their preachers to decry it in every sermon. . . . As for the author he was a monster who ought to be strangled, and they cried out for his blood to the rulers of the earth."
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> * *History of Port Royal.*

Unfortunately for the Jesuits, the reigning Pope, Alexander VII, approved of the book, the Jesuits therefore had to revenge themselves some other way. They decided to destroy both Port Royal and the Arnaulds.

To do this it was necessary to convict them of heresy. The process was complicated. As we have seen, in his many writings Antoine Arnauld busied himself with a defence of Jansen's *Augustinus*, " and," says Racine, " had composed several works upon ' Grace ' which had a prodigious success." These however caused much discussion—fomented by the Jesuits—among those of the Faculty who were opposed to the doctrine of Saint Augustine, and a certain member, a former Jesuit, drew up five propositions on " Grace," and laid them before the Faculty to be examined. These propositions were so cleverly worded as to present an appearance of heresy, but it could not be affirmed that they were extracted from the book or teaching of Jansen. Parliament, when appealed to, imposed silence on both parties.

But the Jesuits would not leave the matter there. In 1650 they sent a letter to Pope Innocent X praying him to pronounce upon the propositions, which, three years later, he condemned. To prove their orthodoxy Arnauld and his friends at once received and accepted the Holy Father's decision, and agreed that the propositions were heretical. Such a decision ought to have satisfied the Jesuits, had they been, as Racine remarks, " children of peace who only sought the truth." But they were determined to ruin their opponents, and the house of Arnauld in particular. They continued therefore to fulminate against them and to bring all manner of wild and improbable charges against the community of Port Royal. They even excited the Queen Mother, Anne of Austria, against the convent. Mazarin also was worked upon, and this was fatal.

Hitherto the Cardinal, having disposed of his great opponent, De Retz, remained indifferent to the disputes of Jesuits and Jansenists alike. But on the arrival of Father Annat from Rome, deputed by the Pope as the young King's Confessor, Mazarin learnt that nothing would please the Pope more than that his recent pronouncement should be universally accepted in France at some public council or other. Whereupon the Cardinal called together a great meeting at the Louvre, at which were present at least thirty-eight Archbishops and

Bishops, and the charge was brought that the substance of the five propositions was to be found in the book written by Jansen, and the Pope having condemned the propositions, it followed *that Jansen was condemned likewise.*

Meantime, Arnauld kept silence. He was much occupied at this time in religious writings, particularly on *Lives of the Saints*, and a book giving passages from the Fathers for every morning in the year. This was compiled at the special request of the nuns of Port Royal, and the Duc de Luynes, a learned recluse of the Monastery, contributed largely to the translations. It was also about this time that the subsequently famous Blaise Pascal made the acquaintance of Port Royal and of Antoine Arnauld. His sister was a nun at the convent, and it was through her example that this brilliant young man retired from the world, renounced his prospects of matrimony, and even gave up his mathematical studies to devote himself entirely to the study of religious truth and the salvation of his soul. It was, as everyone knows, his gifted pen that subsequently did such yeoman service on behalf of the Jansenists against their unscrupulous enemies the Jesuits. They certainly came to need help, for the Jesuits pressed on with an almost annihilating attack on the monastery and on Dr. Arnauld himself, who was publicly censured by the Faculty—or at least that portion of them who could be induced to attend for the purpose. Orders were given for the immediate cashiering of all the Jansenist teaching establishments—which had long been objects of jealous rivalry to their opponents—and soldiers were sent to Port Royal to execute the order. Arnauld went into concealment.

The poor Sisters at the Monastery were in a state of the greatest consternation, not understanding in the least what they had done to deserve this treatment. Their enemies on the other hand were at the very culmination of their triumph, or thought they were, when—the unexpected happened, and Port Royal was saved by a miracle, or what was in all good faith regarded as one. The story, as given by Racine, is briefly as follows :—A novice, the niece of Blaise Pascal, was suffering from a distressing disease of the face, and the doctors, three of the first surgeons of Paris, thought there was no alternative but to operate. This was just before the upset already related, and the nuns in their distress had begged that a famous relic, a supposed piece of the Saviour's crown

of thorns, should be carried in procession through the church. The poor little novice was bidden to press against it and pray for healing. When she had passed to her room she was at once conscious of recovery. The doctors who examined her next day were utterly amazed, and filled all Paris with the story.

Such a vindication of the piety of this convent duly impressed the Court, and it was made possible for the Arnaulds to return. Needless to say, however, the Jesuits did their utmost to throw discredit upon this supposed "Miracle of the Holy Thorn," as it was called, and might have succeeded had not another champion appeared in the person of Blaise Pascal, whose *Provincial Letters* provided a complete bush of thorns to prick and sting the enemies of Les Messieurs of Port Royal. They were especially directed against those "who under the pretext of making clear a case of conscience, had in their books advanced an infinite number of abominable maxims which tended to destroy all the high moral teachings of Jesus Christ."

The Jesuits must have writhed under a relation that exposed their miserable casuistry to the contempt and laughter of all the world, but, nothing daunted, they brazenly issued an *Apologia* which, to their supreme mortification, was condemned both by the Pope Alexander VII, and by the Inquisition. Stung to madness, they set to work in 1655 to draw up an ingenious formulary to trap their opponents, and presented it to the General Assembly of the Church in Paris. The prime object of this declaration was to convict the defenders of Jansen of heresy.

Thanks to the brilliant help of Pascal's *Letters* the Jansenists might have still come out victorious, but for the fact that their enemies had powerful support at Court. The young King's confessor, Father Annat, and the Archbishop of Paris had the ear of the King, who was persuaded to summon an Assembly, which was to seek means for the extirpation of Jansenism. All the King knew of it was what the Jesuits told him, but he did remember that some of the famous Frondists had, at certain intervals, sought and found shelter at Port Royal des Champs, and henceforth Jansenism was, in his narrow and prejudiced mind, more or less associated with the idea of rebellion. He classed the Jansenists pretty much in the same rank as Huguenots: that is as men in opposition to his ideas. Therefore the order went forth that

Jansenism was to be exterminated. He thought it as easy as that ! Yet at his death, fifty-five years later, Jansenism was flourishing even more strongly than before.

For the time being, however, the Jesuits triumphed. The Assembly produced that " confounded formulary " which Madame de Sévigné made such fun of, but which proved the complete undoing of the poor nuns of Port Royal, who were brutally evicted, and, by a refinement of cruelty, they were deprived of the use of the Holy Sacrament which had always been the central inspiration of their lives and teaching. In 1665 they were again brought back to Port Royal.

Meanwhile the persecution of Dr. Arnauld did not abate, and in 1679 he judged it best to leave Paris for Brussels, from which place he continued to publish his various writings. His place as leader of the Jansenist party was taken by a certain Father Quesnel, who in the early nineties issued a truly monumental work, a translation of *The New Testament with Moral Reflections*. In 1695 this attracted the attention of the Bishop of Chalons, who warmly recommended it to all the faithful in his diocese.

This same Bishop Noailles was, largely by the influence of Madame de Maintenon, subsequently translated to the Archbishopric of Paris. It was her dream to have this high-minded prelate at hand, and she hoped greatly that he might work with her to rescue the King from the strong influence of the Jesuits. But unfortunately De Noailles was not interested in the management of the royal conscience, and began to show marked leanings towards Jansenism. It was now the turn of the Jesuits to come rather into disfavour, for the Archbishop prohibited any Jesuit from hearing confession throughout his diocese. He continued to approve the *Moral Reflections* of Father Quesnel, though in 1708 the Pope condemned them, and issued his famous bull *Unigenitus* against the book. The witty Parisians however made fun of this condemnation and asked " if the Holy Father considered it an offence to read the Gospel ? "

After the King's death the fight between the parties still continued, but though, thanks to the support of Louis XIV, the Jesuits appeared to have gained an outward victory, the writings of Blaise Pascal had done their work : the world had come to see that it was worldly power that they were seeking rather than holiness. As the new reign went on they

fell more and more into disrepute, and their expulsion from France in 1764 by order of Louis XV was felt as a great public relief.

Jansenism, as we have seen, owed its origin to the revulsion of feeling caused by the unscrupulous worldliness of the Jesuits: it was an attempt to reaffirm the spiritual side of the Catholic religion. In their efforts to destroy Jansenism the Jesuits only succeeded in ruining themselves. But when the exciting cause that had roused them to protest was removed by the expulsion of the Order, the Jansenists also more or less disappeared as a religious community, although an isolated section remained, who fell into such extremes of eccentric behaviour as to bring their profession into contempt. Their work was done when, during the hundred years following the death of their founder, they waged unceasing warfare against the cynical creed of the Jesuits, and brought serious-minded men and women back to the study of the Christian code as discovered in the Gospels. And in doing this they could have done no greater service to France or to the world.

ALICE LAW.

ONCE UPON A TIME . . .

TO survey the material of fairy tales a strict distinction must be made between three very different sorts of things. First, there is the real folk fairy tale. Second, there is the " myth " which deals with epics of gods and heroes. And third, there is the " artefact," the invented fairy tale, the product of the minds of literary men. In the two latter categories, the myth and the artefact, the creative spirit has freed itself from the unconscious and is striving towards artistic or educational ends. The myth incites to emulation of former greatness and power, reviving heroic figures of the past. The author of the artefact, like every genuine artist, seeks to imitate and to surpass nature. Both myth and literary fairy tale break the laws of natural causality and use magic and miracle, but this is not essential to them. The true folk fairy tale with which alone we are here concerned could not exist without the miraculous element. Further, myth gives names to its heroes, though these names are often disfigured and sometimes purposefully changed. Myths have a historical basis, though that is often profoundly concealed and perverted. In myths we see ideals mingled with or in conflict with historical records. It is a very different thing with fairy tales. They are strictly speaking anonymous.

In the two hundred fairy tales of the collection made by the Brothers Grimm only two family-names are mentioned. This anonymity is typical, especially for the German fairy tale. Fairy tales are dreams; the history that they recall is not a history of " events," of annals, but a dark memory of periods long forgotten and wholly misunderstood when they were first told. The world they tell of is irrational, and its very air is unreal. In fairy tales the powers of nature are not merely exaggerated but perverted as in dreams or delirium. Despite this, the aims of the fairy tale are real enough and material enough though they are very different from those of the myth. The fairy tale seeks eternal riches, the beautiful princess, gold and love, but its means of getting these things are of another world, they are sudden transformations, magic, ban and curse.

The fairy tale does not pretend to educate. Its purpose is to amuse and particularly those whom it is at once easy and very difficult to amuse—the children. Its contrasts are vivid.

To raise pity and fear it must stint neither cruelty nor improbability. Its shades are black and white. Its passwords are angel or devil, gold or dross, entrancing beauty or reptilian hideousness. Virtue is ever rewarded and that in the world of the living. Above all no sustained attention is asked.

Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, who collected all the German fairy tales that they could find, were born in Hanau near Frankfurt and were for some time professors at the Hanoverian University at Göttingen and later in Berlin. Their relations with Göttingen are of topical interest. That university was founded in 1737 by George II. In 1837, just a hundred years ago, the liberal constitution that had been granted to the people of Hanover a few years previously was revoked by their sovereign Ernest Augustus, son of George III. Seven of the most distinguished professors of Göttingen, the famous *Göttinger Sieben*, were expelled, including the brothers Grimm who migrated to Berlin.

Those were days when " Germany awoke." The romantic school strove to revive German culture and the German spirit that is believed to have flourished most beautifully in medieval Gothic art. This national revival was tolerant and instinct with a humanity that overflowed all national frontiers. Herder, pioneer of the romantic school, collected the folksongs of every nation. To Goethe a purely national political revival was anathema. " Science and art," he wrote to a friend in 1813, " belong to the whole world, and the barriers of nationality vanish before them." In Berlin the romantic school gained much from its intimacy with the gifted men and women of the Jewish salons. Mendelssohn and his family, emerging from the ghetto, threw the glamour of their genius on the newly formed social life of the Prussian capital. German scholarship was nothing if not universal and international. Alexander von Humboldt, the acknowledged head of the German learned world, lived during his most active years in Paris and called his great scientific encyclopedia *KOSMOS*. There was nothing of which Schlegel and Tieck were prouder than of their translation of Shakespeare. The brothers Grimm with their dictionary and grammar did more for Germany than any general or minister of their or any other time. They loved their country and they were conscious that their collection of fairy tales played its part in the political revival. What queer dear fellows were the

two brothers ! Indeed, they seemed to come out of a fairy tale themselves ! They were inseparable, though one of them was a bachelor and the other happily married. They were industrious, quiet, slow, representatives of that " other Germany," spiritually free, culturally all-embracing, loving, humane, deep and simple. Such were the men who gave to the world in their fairy tales a thermometer to gauge a fever which now threatens the very life of their own people.

The basic group of their stories, first written down in 1812, the Grimms obtained from the peasant woman Viehmann in the village Zwehrn and from old Marie, maid of their friend the chemist Wild of Kassel. Once fired with the idea the Grimms sought everywhere for further material. Shepherds and waggoners, vagrants and grandmothers, nurses and maids were their experts. Most of these fairy tales were written down for the first time in the nineteenth century, though some of them unquestionably go back to very remote times.

How old are these stories ? Some can be traced to the times before the *Völkerwanderung* and perhaps before the Christian era. Some originate from the vagrant fiddlers who were well known in Germany in the tenth century. The main part probably took something like their present shape during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. At that time Chivalry had disappeared in Germany, for in none of the tales is there a knight or a true knight's castle, nor even such memories of these things as we read of in *Don Quixote*. Nor do the tales tell us much about the clergy. Artisans and craftsmen, on the other hand, are everywhere. The Free Cities have taken shape. The class of hired foot-soldiers flourished. The country is still covered with the vast dark forests, such as Tacitus tells are the chief characteristics of the German landscape, and it is these forests which have made the most decisive impression on the tellers of the stories and their listeners. It is these forests that stay in our memories ; their murmurings, their " enchantments drear, Where more is meant than meets the ear," their lively and cheerful clearings, the joy and comfort that is in them, and that oppressive darkness with its horror and fear.

Woods and forests are the background of about a quarter of the tales. It is in the forests that witches, dwarfs, wicked kings and murderers nearly always dwell. It is in the forests that the magical meetings take place. The forest is thick,

weird, immense, but at times it may be cosy and friendly. The storyteller sometimes sketches the landscape in a few strokes of unimportant detail—perhaps at moments when he or she can think of nothing better. Often the forest itself plays an all-important part in the action, foreboding danger to the hero. " It was as quiet in the woods as in a church. There was no breath of wind, no murmur of brook, no bird sang and no sunbeam pierced the thickly leaved boughs." Do we not feel the terror approaching ?

On the edge of the woods or sometimes in its midst is the enchanted castle. Sometimes there is what looks like a common inn, but inside it is as eerie as elsewhere in the magic realm. The innkeeper is without exception a villain, usually an impostor or murderer. This is nothing but a memory of olden days when predatory bandit-knights, the *landsknecht* of German history, who for long misruled large areas of that unhappy land, would present a superannuated and ruffianly retainer with the hostelry on the domain. And many other memories there are of those evil days of earlier gangster rule.

The forest of the fairy tales is primeval and comparable with the tropical jungles. Ferocious animals are among its dangers. The fox is cunning, the wolf is fierce, the lion—perhaps an Asiatic memory, strange to the story-tellers or listeners save on coats of arms—is usually a bewitched prince. Beyond the forest is the city, the king's castle, peace and a very different world. The stories are essentially those of a continental people and we have nothing of maritime adventure. The sea appears but four times as background of a story, and even then we do not venture far from the shore. In " The Fisherman and his Wife " we are on the coast, but the tellers know little of the sea and it is evident that the tales originated in southern Germany.

Surrounded by fairy trees, gazing into the fairy well, drinking at the magic fountain, in cottage and charcoal-burner's hut, in inn and castle, the heroes and heroines move through these German fairy tales. Who are they ? What do they look like ? What is their purpose in life ? They are, in fact, nothing but children or rather children's pictures of children. Beautiful as daylight, golden-haired and blue-eyed, they have no character at all though they are sometimes kind to animals and to beggars. Like all children—and like all primitive peoples too—they have not the slightest idea of

the real meaning or nature of knowledge. Their purpose in life is a propitious marriage, an enlargement of power, above all to live happily ever after—an ever after in which these children arrange their weddings, for fairy tales never think of time. The ages of the actors are blurred. In the beginning of the tale of the "Frog-King" the little princess is playing with her golden ball; a few hours later she takes as husband the prince, now freed from the ban!

In the fairy tales there are two essential types of hero. Firstly there is the cunning, clever fellow, destined from the beginning to conquer fate by his strength, his courage and last but not least by his brains. Such is the type of Odysseus. Secondly there is the young, weak, slightly stupid type of Parsifal. In the German fairy tale the latter is particularly prominent. The hero is usually the youngest of three brothers, the heroine the youngest sister. God or the good fairies save those handicapped by stupidity from the snares of destiny and lead them on to victory. Class distinctions are very definite. Everyone is either high-class or low-class. Their ways of life are in sharp contrast: palace and cottage. The peasant is always very poor and his poverty is described with sympathy. Soldiers are always embittered victims of some injustice by a superior. For their services they have received little reward or none at all. The fairy tales reflect the war periods when some of them were first told. Craftsmanship exhibits a certain hierarchy. Tailors are particularly favoured. Their qualities are not always good, but they are usually cunning and plucky in spite of bodily weakness. The broom-maker and the charcoal-burner take the lowest rank. The representatives of professions—doctors, clergy, ministers and counsellors—are just as much disliked as broom-maker and cobbler. They are either stupid and wicked, or their intellect is not of much use to them and the less gifted but more fortunate heroes easily get the better of them.

The life of the hero, his way through the adverse world, makes up the bulk of the tales. Their nameless heroes cannot raise the sustained interest achieved by the mythological biographies. In the fairy tale, therefore, the hero's adventures must be so thrilling that the reader or listener is fascinated by the events rather than the persons. As the hero has no character at all, the fairy tale must depend upon a continuous succession of magic and miracle. The greatest miracle

is the bodily transfiguration, next to it the miraculous change of the circumstances of the hero's life. There is no evolution in a fairy tale, though there is constant revolution. The naive listeners ask only for the happy end, and that is nearly always a wedding. And yet even this end is not as important as the excitement of the approach.

It is noteworthy that the German fairy tale shows a prepossession towards women. The men are never quite as angelic or as diabolic as the women. If traces of characterisation are to be found anywhere they are in the descriptions of women. It has even been suggested that the wicked stepmother, who in many cases is also a real mother, is an attempt to assert the lapsed authority of " mother-right." Actions are rarely dictated by reason. We seek in vain for the educational or evolutionary element beloved of the Orient. Only in one tale do we meet as hero one who acts uniformly on the standards of common sense, and he turns out to be a master-thief. The trials and riddles that test the acumen of the heroes are solved neither by skill nor virtue, but only by the action of chance as in " Rumpelstilzchen." The common sense that does appear is the astuteness of peasants. Of true intellectual effort, even on the lowest plane, there is no trace. The simple clearness of the plot would be disturbed by the complicated operation of the intellect.

The literary style of the German fairy tale is equally simple. Descriptions are never detailed. The same event is repeated three times so as to incite the simple-minded listeners to join in guessing the further developments. Nor is there any dramatic impulse. We can never say that " the plot thickens." The climax is always at the end. A German scholar tells us that the death of the hero was not among the " Aryan " motives. When in popular myths, as in *The Horned Siegfried*, the hero is killed, a " non-Aryan " tradition must, he assures us, have intruded. " The Aryan attitude," he gravely writes, " always aims at revival." The hero therefore must not perish.

We learn little or nothing as to the life of hero and heroine after their wedding. There is nowhere any mention of a Christian paradise, nor is there any reference to a numerous and blessed progeny, so often encountered in the Oriental tales. The collection has only ten unhappy endings. Nevertheless the happenings are not especially cheerful, sunny or

peaceful. Just as the dark and eerie forest is ever in the background, so the wings of death shadow the hero in his victorious course. His path through life is sown with the corpses of his more or less innocent adversaries and many of those, too, who have not opposed him. Cruelty and atrocity of every kind are parts of the fairy tales and myths of all peoples. On a certain level of civilisation punishment is meted out without any direct relation to guilt. Achilles drags without pity the corpse of gallant Hector ten times round the walls of Troy. Ulysses slays his wife's suitors for no greater sin than revelling. Such things are common enough. But typical of the German fairy tale is the juxtaposition of the commonplace, the intimate, even the profane element with the horrors of death and all the tortures of a calculated cruelty. Goethe observed this before the Grimms, and strove to take the fairy tale out of its humdrum and over-domestic surroundings and to place it in a truly romantic setting. Such an effort betrays a literary origin and produces a result utterly different from a genuine folk-tale.

In the decreeing of punishments and their execution the German story-teller reveals something deeper than he knows. The bad step-mothers are torn to pieces by wild beasts or have to dance to death in red-hot slippers or are thrust into a den full of vipers. The stingy cobbler, for a loaf of bread, gouges out first one eye of the merry but wasteful tailor and then, for another loaf, his other eye. How for three long nights the errant prince is pricked, pinched and beaten by devils, and each morning dressed and nursed by the compassionate princess, reads like a story from a more modern German institution. Neither children nor animals are spared painful punishment in these stories. "The Merry Fiddler" tied fox and wolf between two trees though they had done him no harm. "The Child that would not obey the Almighty" fell ill and was buried, and his mother was forced to flog his arm that grew out of the grave.

To find a comparable obsession with death we have to turn to ancient Egypt. But where Egyptians linked death with elaborate ritual and a mysterious and traditional piety, the German fairy tale challenges it in a mood of hysterical fear and revenge. It was the German psychologist Wundt who first pointed out that primitive man can only face the inevitable either with horror or with something like irony. The hero in

German fairy tales is in the position of a primitive man who conquers his physical enemies by cruel methods, but contends against his spiritual foes with scorn and sneer. He derides the professions of doctor, scholar and professor, while the Jew, the product of a very ancient civilisation, comes in as target for the arrows of his revenge. One of the most popular fairy tales in the collections of the " new " Germany is the story, called in the collections of the Grimms *The Jew Among Thorns*. In the selections made during the " liberal " period of German history this was omitted, with many other of the more cruel pieces, from editions intended for children. Now, it is almost needless to relate, they have gone back and Grimm's Fairy Tales are read by children unexpurgated.

Over a hundred years ago the brothers Grimm sought to present these treasures of old stories to a people without political guides. They filled the nurseries with princes, fairies, gnomes, and sprites. It was theirs to amuse, not to instruct. Their stories were beyond the realms of reality, and their horrors were as unreal as their princesses. They knew that children are children and they would not have them other. But now the primitive instincts of the child, which are not very different from those of the savage, have been elevated into a place of authority. The rulers of Germany would have us reverence those instincts at which we thought we could afford to laugh. It is no accident that Folklore is now raised to a special place of honour in Germany.

VINCENT BRUN.

THE NINTH SYMPHONY OF BEETHOVEN.

OF all the world's great epics in music I suppose none has commanded so great a library of human criticism as the Ninth Symphony of Beethoven. Even the Ring Cycle of Wagnerian opera and Bach's Mass in B minor are not exceptions. All who do not approach it from the merely academic standpoint have been struck by its intellectual and emotional content—its power to search the soul to its depths and to disclose human experience upon a scale seldom perceived in artistic creation. We are conscious, in its four movements, that something is being worked out—some panorama is unfolding; and its form alone is provocative in this respect. It develops as a Shakespearian or Tolstoyian tragedy develops. One movement leads inevitably to the next—even though the mood is completely changed; and it is important to notice that in this, his final symphony, Beethoven for the first time put the *scherzo* before the Slow Movement—a blazing blasting ecstasy of beauty and terror, before the deep and concentrated intellectuality of the *adagio*. This transition from the second to the third movement must remain inexplicable, I must think, to all but those who realise the gradual achievement of the latter—its final resolution in thought and purpose of all that preceded it.

I maintain, moreover, that the whole of the symphony describes the universal story of mankind from the premundane fall to its final consummation in eternity; and that its separate movements constitute the stages by which the pilgrimage has been made. Opening with *allegro non troppo* it passes to *scherzo*, thence to *adagio*; and finishes with the famous Choral Movement. This last, of all the movements, alone (to many minds) fails to convince; and I think that the argument which I hope to propound will show why Beethoven was unable to achieve conviction here. It cannot be said, however, that the first three movements may stand upon their own—either artistically or philosophically; but they must be said to do so in the sense that they present the uncompleted story of mankind.

That story begins in the opening bars of the first movement; and they are the most ethereal, perhaps the most haunting, in the whole symphony. One immediately senses the notion of

creation, but not from chaos. There *is* a chaotic atmosphere in the first few bars ; but this is almost immediately split to nothing by the heart-shaking announcement of the predominating theme. It is, in fact, a void rather than chaos into which the orchestra pours itself ; and one becomes conscious, as the original and ghostly theme of the opening bars returns, that it is anything but chaotic. I feel that here we are in the presence of the unearthly—of some spiritual world which existed æons of ages before our own began.

Into this pale theme, ever falling and falling, those terrible peals of tragic reality keep bursting ; and I regard this movement as a sublime recreation in music of the premundane fall of man. Herein is told the story of material creation and the casting out of the fallen angels to take their part in the moulding of human history. If the theory of man's fall, which is now beginning to gain ground, is the true one, and it occurred before the creation of matter, we have in the first movement of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony a perfect panorama of the tragedy of material creation as a result of the fall. On and on the two themes go—the innocence of primeval spirituality and the falling into the tragic depths of material existence. It has often been said that this movement constitutes a great epic tragedy ; but what has seldom been observed is the fact that tragedy is here implicitly, rather than explicitly, revealed. That which becomes terribly apparent in the second movement, in all its details, here remains a single vast potentiality. You cannot split up the emotional content of the first movement as you can that of the second ; but must review it as a whole. The only variations that it discloses are spiritual—in that continuous interplay of primeval spirit falling, ever falling, into material potentiality.

As soon as the primeval, haunting theme of the introduction has burst into that anguished materiality of universal creation, it begins to dwindle ; and it is soon lost in the depths of sound that the fallen creation naturally assumes. It is then, as the symphony proceeds, that we become aware of all that is involved in this great premundane catastrophe known to theologians as the Fall ; and this is in a sense true of the whole symphony, although in the first movement it is viewed retrospectively and as a whole. For Beethoven vindicates in the Ninth Symphony a final expression of racial experience from the moment of creation ; and this could, of course, only

be achieved by drawing upon the deep, unconscious forces that he has inherited from mankind and are welling up into the subliminal area of his mind from those dark recesses of racial consciousness. He is not here swept off his feet by the sustained ecstasy that produced the *Eroica* Symphony, nor is he deliberately contriving the delicate emotional and intellectual æsthetics that went to the making of the Quartet in C sharp minor. He is, in the total isolation of his soul, giving to the world his philosophy of life in the method of which he had come to be a supreme master; and for that purpose he was drawing upon his own profoundest emotional experiences—beginning from the depths in the hope of ultimately storming the heights in the *Finale* Movement with a version in music of Schiller's *Ode to Joy*.

So, in the first gigantic movement, we get what may fairly be called the travail of the World Soul—even before its birth to evolution. In that vast potentiality, that appalling pregnancy, is contained all the anguish of the heart, the perplexity of the mind, the agony of the body and the yearning of the soul, that is one day to dawn in the materialisation of human experience. It is a poignant and vivid rumination upon the fate of a fallen universe—inevitable and inexhaustible; and in it we can hear the great tragedy of natural and human existence shaping itself. The crash of earthquake, the inexhaustible hungers of the sea, tempests and calms, the wild ravages of disease and the still small voice of martyred man, form the emotional content of this earliest movement—until it ends in a final *coda* that gathers all into its spell and ends, almost abruptly, in a final assertion of the predominating theme—that cast man out of Paradise.

The *scherzo* begins with a sharp announcement which is almost like a burst of that first movement; and all that was implicit in it, the whole vast potentiality, is pouring out into reality. The music of the first subject is swift and terrible—too massive to be brittle; and swelling in great gusts of sound to the blazing triumph of its repeated theme. The changes in key and *tempo* are almost miraculously swift—attended by glimpses of whole universal possibilities; and I think that the notion of active creation is as perfectly expressed here as in any work of creative art that the world has known. The rapid changes, the lightning flashes of orchestration, the intermittent thunder of drums and the haunting

undertone of attendant tragedy, give to this movement a detail which the first does not possess ; and a sense of development which I feel is vital to the symphony's meaning as a whole.

For here there is no sense of contemplation. The story of creation is rapidly developing ; and in every change, I had almost said in every phrase, we see the story of creation going forward. For there is humour as well as tragedy in the story —terror perpetual ; but none of the pity which, in the first movement, seemed to be coming from the heart of God Himself at the spectacle of human tragedy. Here, in the *scherzo*, the hideous story of Nature " red in tooth and claw " is alternated by an almost human chuckling of the Creator over the weird shapes and curious formation that the panorama discloses. Great gusts of blinding animal fury are relieved at intervals by curious chucklings and almost demoniacal rejoicings—until the music breaks suddenly into the middle section—a theme that is tender, almost pitying, in its appeal.

It is then that all that is more beautiful in Nature begins to take shape in the music—growing and ever growing. The mad turmoil of a blind creation has developed suddenly into a universe of beautiful shapes, variegated colours, the maternal instinct and the glow of sunset. It is only a glimpse—poignant and unforgettable that we have ; but it is just enough to assure us that terror and humour are not the only forces that have been at work in the creation before the music bursts again into the kaleidoscopic tragedy of creation. The first subject is repeated full blaze and the movement ends in the triumph of those dark and cruel forces out of which the material creation has evolved.

Then follows the Slow Movement—one of quiet intensity whose profundities of thought and feeling seem to plumb the very core of human personality. Here surely, if anywhere in music, the dignity and suffering of man are perfectly distilled into the expression of a mental and spiritual pilgrimage as a thing of power, of love, of ceaseless searching and yet of brave tranquillity. The teeming lusts and woes of nature's big creation have long tumbled into silence ; and one feels that evolution's goal has here been reached—man is full-fledged —a creature of thought and prayer who knows the yearning quality of life and the strange tragedy of death. All the highest aspirations of man's thought and feeling seem to find

expression here; and that *searching* for something higher than himself, the keenest faculty of his existence, has always struck me as the final quest of this movement in the symphony.

It has often been remarked that in the Ninth Symphony Beethoven reversed his usual custom by placing the Slow Movement beyond the *scherzo*; but I think that any who realise the epic quality of the symphony must acknowledge the inevitability of the plan. For the First Movement and the *scherzo* are alike in their tragic assertion of man's defeat by the powers out of which he was created; but the Slow Movement is a vindication of his ability to make something of his destiny by converting it into a pilgrimage. For this movement is something more than a quest. It is, I think, a searching for higher things; but it is also an answer to the First Movement and the *scherzo*—that nature "red in tooth and claw" does not have the last word; and that man, if he can endure, will ultimately triumph.

At this moment the symphony becomes most completely retrospective because the thoughts and emotions which the composer is here expressing are those that lie nearest to the threshold of consciousness. He is no longer dealing with those splendid and terrible emotional depths that well out of our most primitive unconscious self but with educated and rationalised spiritual aspirations. For this reason the third movement is the most profoundly intellectual—the most subtle and penetrating; and each fresh hearing of it brings to light beauties and complexities of thought or utterance which had been concealed before. At last it closes—not upon a note of triumph or complete understanding, but rather as something whose echoes of hope, yearning, suffering and aspiration linger on when all else in the great symphony has died out.

Then comes what I must regard as a movement too consciously elaborate to be the crowning achievement of the world's great epic in music; and can deduce evidence to show that Beethoven was himself conscious of the great choral movement's partial failure as the climax of the Ninth Symphony. It begins with a fanfare—ugly but ruggedly magnificent. Then begins the search for a theme. The composer seems conscious of the fact that here the epic must go beyond the mind of man—to something higher than his pilgrimage so

perfectly expressed in the music before. He attempts to introduce the cataclysmic announcement of the First Movement, but without result. Then come the opening bars of the *scherzo's* terrific pageantry; but to no avail. Finally, the yearning theme of the Slow Movement is expelled; and the fanfare is repeated to usher in the first notes of the choral theme. There is, however, one moment, between the rejection of the third theme and the repetition of the fanfare, in which a few chords of the most angelic beauty are heard. It is only a moment—scarcely a breath of orchestration; but I cannot help a profound conviction that in that moment of inspiration Beethoven caught the echoes of a theme which would have carried his music into those realms beyond the mind of man in its present state of pilgrimage, and so have completed his destiny; but, if so, he must have known that he could never sustain the theme. So he accepted one whose triumph is of this world rather than the next.

It is a movement of great power and beauty—in which human voices consummate the victory to which the symphony has been leading up—a victory of mankind over the forces that seemed once to have defeated it. I cannot doubt that, in the lights and shades, the undulations and modulations of this movement, Beethoven intended us to realise man's triumph over the dark forces ranged in order from the beginning of creation; and he himself admitted his ambition to set Schiller's *Ode to Joy* to music. It is, indeed, a triumphant achievement; but when put in the scales against the movements which led up to it—against the power and beauty of their universal appeal—I cannot help feeling that that movement fails to achieve its gigantic purpose.

For, if there is anything at all in my theory of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, this movement should express the full consummation of man's eternal bliss in Heaven. The symphony began with the fall and its resultant material creation, it then burst into the colossal panorama of evolution; and we have but recently heard the strains of man's mental and spiritual search for his Creator in the third movement. Now should come that final consummation of the creative process by which man achieves the vision of God in the eternity of Heaven. There can really be no wonder that even Beethoven's genius failed in this superhuman task; and that this movement is a deliberately conscious creation rather than a

daring uprush of those deep, unconscious impulses, that went to the making of the other three.

There can be no doubt that the composer himself accepted it as second best. For not only did he contemplate its complete revision as an orchestral piece a few years later; but we hear the battle raging in his own mind in the opening bars. That introduction throws a wealth of light upon his whole conception of what was involved in this final creative act. I have already spoken of the manner in which he tested the three former themes and found them unable to bear the full glory of the last triumphant movement. This has often been observed before; but what has been seldom noticed is the fact that, after all this labour, he finally accepted the theme with which the movement opens as a herald to the human voice. It is as though he despaired of ever finding anything rich and deep enough to express the harmonies of Heaven.

It has been said that Beethoven, unlike other composers who even possibly surpassed him in stature, wrote music that contained more than the essence of pure music; and of nothing that he ever wrote is this more true than of the Nine Symphonies by which he is most famously remembered. This is the more curious in view of the fact that his sacred music was, with the glorious exception of the great Mass in D, a partial failure. It was only when he looked down into the depths of his unconscious self—that part of him which had inherited all the strivings and potentialities of mankind—and drew upon them, that he was able to give us the full blast of his genius.

Ashley Sampson.

REPTILES.

REPTILES! The mere intonation with which, quite instinctively, one gives utterance to the word, makes cause for wonder whether there is any good to be said of them. Yet—I write of Western India—one's principal feeling towards the little house lizard or gecko, upon the wall of one's bungalow, is sheer gratitude for the zealous manner in which he is wont to polish off one after another of the myriad winged nuisances of a monsoon evening. The internal capacity of the little creature always seems too good to be true. And the garden lizards scurrying across one's path, with long brittle tails designed, if seized by a hostile beak, to come off in the hand so to say, and be discarded, are harmless things. The most conspicuous of them is the so-called "blood-sucker," who puffs out his throat at you in the endeavour to look important, but only succeeds in being a figure of fun. In the effort his whole throat becomes suffused with crimson, a change of colour which is presumably responsible for his sometimes being called a chameleon, which he certainly is not.

The true chameleon is a lizard of more prehistoric mould, which I have personally come across, in India, only in the Nilgiri Hills, but have also met in Southern Arabia. An amazing creature I found him. His colour transformation schemes were, it seemed, dependent in part upon the hues of his environment and background, and in part upon the nature of the light falling on him. They varied from brilliant green, with black spots and blotches, to orange brown or a dirty cream marked with brown. But, apart from changes in his uniform, it was his eyes and the character of his movements which gave one the impression that here was a unique personality. A squint-eyed regard can make one feel uncomfortable, you never know whether the eye concerned is looking at you or not. But the effect is still more disconcerting when a creature, in the act of contemplating a blue-bottle, deliberately swivels round one of the ball-and-socket arrangements—to use E. H. Aitken's apt epithet—which serve it for eyes, in order to study you, while the other continues, without interruption, the more important business of estimating the range of that fly. The thing purports to be a lizard, but you cannot believe it to be real, and feel sure there must be an invisible someone pulling a string to work the machine.

Having decided that you are not a person of any account, the right eye returns to the assistance of its colleague; and the owner of both, after some further consideration, concludes—unless the blue-bottle has in the meantime become bored and moved on—that the range is excessive and must be reduced. To that end he uncoils his tail, which has been wound round a supporting twig or other perch, leisurely unclasps the grip of the fingers of one fore-paw, and as leisurely moves it forward to take up a fresh grip. Then, at the pulling of that invisible string again, the other hand does likewise; after which a rest is necessary before the right hind foot begins to take its share in the advance. And so on.

It is slow motion *in excelsis*. When the whiting was impelled to invite the snail to walk a little faster, I expect the latter was doing his little best. The snail is slow, not a doubt of it; yet he does not move with the studied super-deliberation of the chameleon. The panther stalking a wary prey can, by virtue of sheer concentration, move his paw at a rate of fractions of an inch per second; but you know that same paw can strike like the lightning itself. The chameleon, however, cannot be imagined progressing any faster than he does. Not because you think he cannot do so, but just because he does not choose; while any attempt to hustle him would, you feel, be an unwarrantable interference with one of the fixed laws of dynamics.

When at length he has arrived within range—perhaps six inches—of his quarry, the chameleon tightens his grip with hands and tail, parts his lips, thinks hard, and the next moment the blue-bottle has disappeared, with a leap within those cavernous jaws that the eye is unable to follow. It is just as fast as that; after the portentous slowness of every previous movement it leaves you gasping. One cannot help wondering whether the real explanation of the reptile's superlative leisureliness of limb, up to that point, is not to be found in the necessity of concentrating all the speed of which his being is capable into the manipulation of the lasso which is his tongue. For, in fact, it is like a lasso that he wields his weapon, with the difference that instead of a noose he employs a blob of liquid glue on the tip of his tongue. I have taken longer than I had intended over a description of the chameleon's methods; but what is one to do with a creature to whom time is of no account?

In Gujarat I never met a chameleon. A reptile, however, which is frequently in evidence there, especially if you keep fowls, is that big lizard of antediluvian appearance commonly miscalled the iguana, in reality a monitor. I once had a neighbour who was a poultry fancier and found his prize white leghorn chickens disappearing in mysterious fashion. He set traps for the mongoose which he believed to be the culprit, but without success. One afternoon he and I were in his compound when we saw something scuttle away from the vicinity of a wired-in fowl run, then sit up on its haunches and look round to inspect us—exactly as a mongoose will do when he cannot quite make out what you are. "I knew it was a mongoose," said my friend. But it was not. The next moment it was down on all fours, and its gait as it waddled off gave it away—a monitor or *ghorpad*, what the Gujarati calls a *gho*. This particular specimen escaped for that time, but was shot a day or two later, a big fellow nearly four feet in length. In its interior were found the remains of a couple of chickens and of a young partridge, as well as of eggs of some small bird.

The *gho* is a voracious poacher; but the evil reputation in another respect which he bears among the natives is undeserved. I once picked up a young one by the tail in the presence of a *patawala*—the office menial whom they call a *chuprassi* farther north—and it turned and seized my finger in its teeth. I have never seen a brown skin turn such an extraordinary hue; the man was livid with genuine horror, fully expecting me to drop dead. For the *ghorpad*, when young and spotted—it loses its spots as it grows up—is credited with a bite more deadly than the cobra's; a complete delusion, for India possesses no poisonous lizard known to science.

What the creature does own is a set of powerful claws with which it can maintain a most tenacious grip. It is said that in olden days burglars used to employ the *ghorpad* to assist them to climb up walls and into houses, sending it on ahead with a light rope fastened around its waist, when it would cling so tightly in some crevice or corner as easily to support the weight of a climber. And tradition has it that the Marathas once utilised the services of a large specimen in just this fashion, to provide them with a means of scaling the impregnable and therefore unwatched side of the ancient

fort of Singarh, and thus to capture it from the Moghals. Life is not always easy for the *ghorpad*. Poisonous or not, the Waghris—a low-caste hunting tribe—and other unfastidious folk have always eaten him with gusto, while in these days his hide makes ladies' handbags.

In the case of that still bigger lizard, the mugger (crocodile), it is suitcases and so forth. Which is just as well, for, unprepossessing anachronism that he is, I do not know what else he is good for in the modern world. Like every lizard, large or small, his one interest in life is food. Other animals will regard you with frank curiosity, or as frank suspicion. But the eyes in that horny head, the top of which, as it floats slowly past you standing on the bank, is all that is visible above the surface of the water, are solely concerned to appraise your possibilities as meat. So at least I always fancy. The particular mugger we are observing is probably not big enough—few are in those parts of which I write—to tackle an adult human being if it had the chance. None the less I believe it constitutionally incapable of considering a living creature from any other point of view. Look into the chill expressionlessness of the crocodile's lidless grey-green orbs. I have seen cold cruelty in the eyes of a jungle cat, and there seems a sinister quality in those of a wolf; but these are warm-blooded animals, and their eyes capable of varying expression in tune with varying moods. In the eye of a crocodile is an element of changelessness that chills one with an impression, such as no mammal's eye ever gives forth, of unmixed evil. Catch a wolf young and you may tame him. One cannot conceive of any response from a mugger. But enough of these foul relics of a vanished age.

And so to the snakes. Nobody loves snakes. The same, it is true, may be said of the mugger; but comparatively few folk ever meet the latter, while snakes, though to a much less degree than often supposed, are liable to enter into the life of anyone in India. And many of them are not only entirely harmless, but do valuable work in the destruction of rats and suchlike vermin. Moreover, prejudice apart, some of them have their attractive points. Squirmy things, no doubt, but does one ever see a snake that is not sleek and clean, with a well-groomed look about him, in fact? Except, of course, at the uncomfortable, dishevelled time of sloughing his skin. And some are often beautiful of colouring.

None of which alters the fact that the snake is anathema to mankind in general ; this for a combination of reasons. Its writhing mode of progression, for one thing, tends to have a discomfiting effect upon the human observer. And man can never quite forget, either the traditional association of the serpent form with the Evil One, or the possession by some of the race of an instrument of death, the deadliness of which seems out of all proportion to the importance of its possessor. Well do I remember the horror of my first intimate contact with—but the tale will not take long in the telling.

It was my first year in India. A young subaltern dressing for dinner, I pulled on a mess wellington boot to feel something alive under my heel—heavens ! a snake ! With a presence of mind on which that sudden deathly cold feeling up my spine did not prevent my priding myself, I rammed my heel down and stood upon it hard ! After a couple of minutes, when surely it must be safe, I got my bearer to pull off the boot, to find the loathly remains of—a miserable toad !

Since that memorable night I have neither experienced nor witnessed any hairbreadth escapes. Unless it be the case of a Rajput motor-driver, bitten by a *phoorsa*, which gave me an opportunity of testing a much advertised cure for snake-poisoning, permanganate of potash. This drug acts by neutralising the venom ; to be of any use, therefore, it must be brought into actual contact with the venom itself before the latter has entered the blood-stream. In the instance in question I was able to cut across the site of the bite and rub in the permanganate crystals within a couple of minutes, with the result that practically no symptoms of poisoning developed. Had action been delayed by half an hour it would probably have been a very different matter.

It cannot be too strongly emphasised that there is no known cure for snake-poison, once it has entered the blood-stream, except anti-venine prepared from a serum of the venom of the particular species of snake responsible for the bite. There are no doubt measures which a medical man can take that may be helpful in border-line cases. But it may safely be maintained that the great majority of recoveries from snake-bite poisoning are due to the simple fact that the amount of venom injected was not enough to constitute a fatal dose. The old-fashioned belief dies hard that the best thing to do is to fill the victim up with alcohol. In the view of modern

science this is a dangerous error, and the practice likely to do more harm than good.

Considering how abundant snakes sometimes are, it is rather remarkable how seldom one actually sees them. Snakes one has encountered, of course, and naturally calls to mind first the most notorious kinds—Cobra ; daboia or Russell's viper ; *krait ; echis* viper or *phoorsa*, already mentioned, a trifle less deadly than the first three.

It was a large black cobra which once afforded a Muhammadan mounted police orderly of mine a chance of displaying his prowess with the sword. We were riding along a sort of lane with a bank on one side, when a cobra that had been coiled up on the bank, roused by the vibration of the passing hoofs, reared itself up with hood expanded after the fashion of its kind, its head about saddle high as we rode below. Maula Baksh was an ex-sowar of a famous cavalry regiment, and an expert performer at " heads and posts." At the sight of this heaven-sent opportunity his dark eyes gleamed, as he begged eagerly to be allowed to practise his favourite exercise on the person of a living foe. Back he cantered some sixty paces, then, as all unwitting of its danger the cobra held its ground, down upon his enemy swept the old soldier in a whirlwind charge. Above his charger's ears, and perfectly timed, came the swishing back-hand stroke of a blade in whose keenness its owner had always taken pride, and that swaying menacing head was removed as cleanly as had been each coconut at the last competition which Maula Baksh had won.

Even the cobra, when his hood is not expanded, is not always recognisable at sight by the inexpert eye. And Kipling's description of " Karait, the dusty brown snakeling that lives for choice on the dusty earth," fits the *phoorsa* even better than it does the *krait* itself. In fact the observer who desires to indentify any snake with certainty will be well advised to study the character and arrangement of their scales—with the assistance of some authority on the subject. Reliance on size and colouring will be found a broken reed. The trouble is that no live snake is going to allow you to count his scales, and the wise man will use the stick first and then look up the book.

From time to time, usually during the monsoon season, a commotion in one's compound is accompanied by the cry,

"*Samp hai! Bara samp!*" (Big snake!), and presently the bearer appears, either to beg the sahib to come forth and deal with the intruder, or to invite attention to the sweeper who, at the foot of the veranda steps—which his "untouchable" form must not pollute by ascending—holds out in deprecating triumph a stick, from which dangles the limp corpse of the enemy. Occasionally *krait* or cobra, more often an entirely harmless species. To one's retainers the whole tribe is deadly; or, if prepared to admit that there may be exceptions, they deem it wiser to act on the sound principle already advocated, of making sure first and enquiring after. This does not of course apply to the Brahmin, who looks upon the cobra with veneration; or the Jain, to whom the taking of any life is a sin. Should venomous snakes become too abundant round about a gentleman's domicile to be entirely comfortable, recourse can be had to the snake-charmer. This individual will always be prepared, for a consideration, to beguile with sweet music that inconvenient cobra from its hole and convey it, without ostentation, to the sufficiently distant compound of a neighbour. Whether the cobra so beguiled had, or had not, previously been put into that hole by the charmer himself is a matter upon which I do not venture to hazard an opinion.

A few people in India learn to identify the principal venomous snakes; none but the professed naturalists know anything about the harmless ones. Yet of these there are many more species, from the magnificent python to the slender green whip-snake, or the barred wolf-snake, often, to its cost, mistaken for the *krait*. Then there is the big *dhâman* or rat-snake, the baleful glance of whose eye at milking-time, I have been solemnly assured, will dry up the udders of a cow, to say nothing of the *amphisboena*, who bears a head at each end of his body! It will be gathered that there is quite a lot to be learned about the non-venomous snakes. For most people, however, it remains the venomous minority that matters.

Of this venomous minority in India there are—apart from the sea snakes—but four species at all generally common whose bite is liable to prove fatal to a human being, the four I have already mentioned: cobra, *krait*, daboia and *phoorsa*. One cannot but wonder why this should be so. The existence, indeed, of snakes furnished with an elaborate apparatus for the injection

of deadly poison has always been one of nature's mysteries. The majority of the race, living a similar life to the specialised minority, feeding on similar prey and subject to similar dangers, seems to get on very well without any such equipment. The grass snake of the English countryside, for example, appears to make just as much a success of life as does the adder. Why then should the few be provided with a death-dealing weapon of appalling efficiency, which the many neither possess nor need, but by reason of which they must share universal obloquy ?

The question is one to which science has no satisfactory answer. But there is no getting away from the fact. Observe a grass snake in the woodland, as it glides away before our approach : can we fail to admit the grace in its movements ? And the formidable daboia at the Zoo, his old coat recently sloughed, one cannot deny the brilliancy of colour and pattern of the new one, with its triple chain of large orange-brown diamonds outlined in greenish-black or deep purple and contrasting white. And in a state of freedom, if he will not put himself out unduly to make way for you, he is yet not usually aggressive of disposition and will give you fair warning of his presence with a resounding hiss which is meant to be heard. Not his the blame if you ignore it. It is even true that his venom provides the doctors nowadays with a valuable means of treating that peculiar complaint, hæmophilia. And yet . . .

An altercation, once, with a large daboia which I met out shooting, ended in the demise of the latter, a specimen, as it turned out, of the female sex. The funeral rites disclosed no less than 53 unhatched eggs from which, but for my untimely interference, there would presently have emerged fifty-three infant vipers, each with curved fang and poison gland and forked tongue all complete. One has tried, for the moment, to adopt a more kindly attitude towards an unloved race. But the mental vision of that multiple reptile progeny gives one pause. It may be that the daboia wears a beautiful coat, and will not bite unless conceiving itself provoked. It may be that human science can use the poison from under his lips to bestow life rather than death. Yet—flat scaly head and flickering forked tongue ! I fear me that a serpent remains a serpent, cursed above every beast of the field.

A. H. E. Mosse.

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LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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A GREAT FRENCH DIPLOMATIST.*

During the critical years before the World War France was fortunate in possessing three diplomatists of the first rank in the key cities of Europe—Paul Cambon in London, Jules Cambon in Berlin, and Camille Barrère in Rome. A charming memoir of the first, written by his son, was published last summer, and now a more substantial biography of the second has been written by his niece. The name of Mme Tabouis is known wherever French journalism is studied, and her reputation will be enhanced by this loving tribute to her distinguished uncle. France is rich in political memoirs and poor in political biographies. It is to be hoped that her example may be followed, and that we may in due course be able to read authoritative biographies of Clemenceau, Jaurès, Poincaré, Delcassé and other French statesmen of European stature.

The careers of the brothers Cambon, a singularly devoted pair, were curiously parallel. Both took an active part in the war of 1870, both had administrative experience in France, both were Governors of African territory, Paul in Tunis and Jules in Algeria, both entered diplomacy in middle life and rose to the highest posts. If Paul has the higher reputation is it not because he had the greater opportunity? To win the enduring friendship of Great Britain after centuries

* *The Life of Jules Cambon.* By Geneviève Tabouis. Cape. 15s.

of hostility and suspicion was assuredly an historic achievement ; but even he could not have effected a rapprochement between France and Germany. Wherever his lot was cast the younger brother rose to the occasion and won the respect of those with whom he had to deal. The picture drawn in these pages of a highly cultured and affectionate human being is most sympathetic, and Mme Tabouis is to be congratulated on her work, which gains in interest by numberless intimate touches.

Jules Cambon's years at Washington were memorable for the Spanish-American War, and the succeeding years at Madrid witnessed the making of the Franco-Spanish treaty concerning Morocco in 1904. In describing the latter Mme Tabouis draws heavily on the Ambassador's despatches published in the great official series of *Documents Diplomatiques Français*. From Spain, then a quiet backwater, to Germany, then and always in the centre of the world's life, was indeed a change, and even as early as 1907 Cambon instinctively foretold trouble. " I hope that my departure from Berlin may be as fine as this, but I doubt it," he exclaimed as the train drew out of the Spanish capital. The political tension and the social contacts in his new post made the seven years in Germany the most memorable in his life. He never trusted Bülow, of whom he writes that under a mask of dilettantism was hidden a Prussian—very Prussian and not very scrupulous. The Crown Prince was as frank in his bellicose utterances as in his criticism of the Kaiser. Bethmann he respected, but he realised that he was never master in his own house.

The two main diplomatic crises with which the Ambassador had to deal were those of Agadir and the outbreak of the World War. His long and on the whole successful duel with Kiderlen in the summer of 1911 is fully described, and the reader is impressed by the patience, tenacity and tact with which the representative of France carried through very delicate and dangerous negotiations. Kiderlen was not an agreeable person, but Cambon learned to respect his ability and, after a bad beginning, his relative moderation. " It has never been sufficiently realised," he wrote later, " how greatly the peace of the world was in danger during the second fortnight of August 1911. . . . At bottom, the only thing of which I am proud is that I avoided war in 1911."

His services to peace were recognised by Kiderlen, who remarked that "if the negotiators had been anybody but Jules and I there would have been war." Hotheads in both countries were furious at the Morocco-Congo treaties of November 4th, 1911, and the fiery Déroulède refused to shake hands with the Ambassador on his next visit to Paris; but the moderates on both sides of the Rhine were fairly well satisfied. When reproached by a friend for not playing a stronger hand, Cambon calmly replied that he had never been a gambler.

As the sky darkened again in 1913 during the later phases of the Balkan war, and as talk of war became general in both countries, the Ambassador lost the gaiety and sprightly wit which had made him such a welcome figure in the salons of Berlin. He confided his growing anxieties to Baron Beyens, the Belgian Minister, as well as to his chiefs at the Quai d'Orsay. The conversations between the King of the Belgians and his hosts on his memorable visit to Berlin in November 1913 left no doubt that peace was hanging by a thread. While Paul Cambon naturally retained his London post throughout the war, Jules returned to Paris and was employed in various duties of the highest importance. In the autumn of 1914, before Italy had declared her intentions, he was sent to Rome on a temporary mission to plead for France. The post of Secretary-General at the Quai d'Orsay was created for him in the autumn of 1915, and for the rest of the long struggle his advice counted for more than that of any other official. The veteran of the war of 1870 followed every phase of the conflict with the strained anxiety of a great patriot, and he was full of gratitude to all who rendered service to France. When he congratulated Joffre at Chantilly after the victory of the Marne, the Commander-in-Chief replied: "Do not congratulate me. It was von Kluck who lost the battle, not I who won it." When Clemenceau was called to the helm in 1917 at the darkest hour, Cambon learned to know both the merits and faults of the Tiger. He regretted the Premier's studied humiliation of President Poincaré, but the greatness of the old man was beyond dispute. "When I see the courage and effort with which he fights from day to day against the worst difficulties and the lowest intrigues in order to rescue France, I cannot help loving him."

As a member of the French delegation Jules Cambon took

an active part in the making of the peace, and the chapter entitled "The Peace Treaty" is one of the most interesting in the book. He describes in vivid language the first contact with the German delegates at Versailles and the historic scene when Clemenceau and Brockdorff-Rantzau met face to face for the presentation of the terms of the victorious Allies. Cambon was too experienced not to know that the peace settlement was unduly severe, and, despite his admiration for Foch, he described him as wild in his demand that German sovereignty should end at the Rhine. The Treaty of Versailles was the end of the World War but not of our troubles, and as chairman of the Conference of Ambassadors he had plenty to do during the coming years. He died at the age of 90 in 1935, when Germany was on her legs again, and all Europe was talking of the next world war.

G. P. G.

A FULL LIFE.*

Once, when Whistler was asked to prove his assumption that he had painted a certain picture in a week—or it may have been a day—he gave an answer that has become a quotation: "It took me all my life to paint that picture." The proud retort comes to one's mind on reading this autobiography of a woman whose years of apprenticeship in the service of humanity brought her inevitably to the position of leadership in a struggle for human freedom. For while the militant suffrage agitation could not fail to affect, in a more or less degree, the outlook of all serious women in the decade preceding the Great War, only some, even of those who took active part in it, could have said with Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence that their whole previous career had been a preparation for their response to the call when it came.

That is why her written story presents a picture of a full life, in which the movement led by the Women's Social and Political Union, though occupying the most remarkable portion of it, fits naturally into its place in the narrative. The beginning of her book covers that period when the well-to-do English middle class were awakening to a sense of their responsibilities towards the workers. Emmeline Pethick in

* *My Part in a Changing World.* By Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence. Gollancz. 15s. net.

her comfortable Cornish home never knew poverty, never had to earn her living; but she had imagination and sincerity of vision, and her account of her early years reveals those mingled feelings of sympathy and indignation, united with a passion for doing something to alter things, that created the rebel of later years. Paying full tribute to family affection and care, she does not minimise the lack of understanding and denial of freedom that in those days characterised the grown-up attitude towards children.

"I believe that to-day the majority of children are relatively happy," she writes. "Half a century ago, the majority were, in my opinion, often desperately miserable." When a teacher, whose misplaced harshness had failed to destroy her spirit, rewarded her unexpectedly for a rare exhibition of good conduct, she cried to the other girls—"See what I get for being good *sometimes*! You are good *all the time* and you get nothing!" The future advocate of militant as against non-militant political tactics was already in being. But the years in between were to be full of quiet endeavour, largely spent in living and working among girls at the West London Mission, years of keen observation of social conditions, all working up to the conviction that without direct political power practical improvement of their status was beyond the reach of women.

One source of her strength was her ability to use experience, however bitter. An early love affair left her desolated, yet "planted new seeds of courage and self-confidence" in her heart because its mere occurrence had destroyed her shy sense of being unattractive. Some of the most beautiful passages in the book, by the way, describe her relations with her husband, Frederick Pethick-Lawrence, who stood side by side with her all through the suffrage agitation.

Of this agitation, which raged in the years 1905-14, much has been written. It is therefore all the more necessary, now that a new generation has arisen, ignorant of what the movement meant in a world since changed past recognition, that a dispassionate account of it should be available; and we have this in Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence's book, the greater portion of which deals with the militant campaign. The story is presented with an impartiality that only those who lived through it can properly appreciate; it can be trusted for its accuracy; it reveals for the first time much that puzzled many people in the difference of opinion with the Pankhursts which led to the

secession of the Pethick-Lawrences from the W.S.P.U.; and it is told with a saving grace of humour and a raciness that makes it a thoroughly good story, as a story. If there were nothing else in her book than this description of one of the most remarkable rebel movements of modern times, it should be read by every student of history and sociology.

There is, of course, much more in her book, and I wish I had space to describe the writer's work for peace, not only after the War when everybody was a pacifist, but from the first day of it until the last, and on until the present time when the shadow of war lies on us once more. But no present discontent or past disillusionment has more success than had her early teachers in breaking the spirit of Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence. Having seen, as she says, most of her dreams come true, she writes in conclusion—

> Because I have witnessed a change of heart and a corresponding change in circumstance happen many times, I cherish the dream, which is also a faith, that it is going to happen again. And when that dream "comes true" it will mean an end of war for ever.

So *My Part in a Changing World* ends characteristically on a note of hope.

EVELYN SHARP.

LAMENT FOR ECONOMICS.*

Mrs. Wootton here applies an exceedingly acute mind to an exposure of certain fundamental defects in modern "economics" regarded as a science or an art. In the pursuit of scientific exactitude most professional economists have ignored the wider human significance of the efforts and satisfactions attendant in economic processes, and have devoted themselves to an analysis of markets and of laws appertaining thereto that is based upon assumptions which ignore the current facts underlying these operations.

> The economic theory of to-day, it is alleged, is useless because it is unintelligible; because after all these arduous studies, the economists cannot be relied upon not to give diametrically opposite diagnoses and prognoses of the same situation (not to mention the incompatibility of the various remedies which a few of the more courageous among them are sometimes induced to prescribe); because the economists feed on their own tails by

* By Barbara Wootton. Allen & Unwin. 6s. net.

> busying themselves with the analyses of imaginary worlds which they have themselves invented; and, finally, because they are passing off as purely scientific enquiry what is in reality no more than a partisan advocacy of particular social policies (p. 35).

Though Mrs. Wootton does not formally adopt the whole of this indictment, it forms the substance of her argument against the futility of "laws" which ignore the human facts that underly and diversify all market processes, and the "bias" in favour of the existing private rule of industry which academic and business economists unconsciously display. The chief defect of market laws as indicative of a sound distribution of productive resources is found to be the absence of any presumption of equality of opportunity among consumers. For, though most economists have given a formal recognition to this need, its absence from the operation of most markets (especially for the sale of labour) has not kept them from identifying market values with optimum human values and from rejecting almost all public interference with free marketing as detrimental to maximum production and consumption. The impossibility of an exact measurement of the amount of satisfaction or welfare which different persons will get from the same expenditure is taken by rigorous economists as a final argument against attempts to equalise money-incomes.

Mrs. Wootton notes how most leading economists from Adam Smith to Marshall, and even later, have shown definite leanings towards a humane theory of values, but the drive towards exactitude and quantitative measurements has prevailed. The erratic movements of money in recent years and their obvious bearings upon employment and prosperity have concentrated attention upon the instrument of exchange.

In a long concluding chapter Mrs. Wootton turns to her "researches into the nature of social ends in modern communities and the means by which these may best be formulated" (p. 282). Here she develops a policy of public planning, the rudiments of which she set forth in an earlier treatise, and which is fortified by the recent evidence of waste and misdirection furnished by the experience of all nations. The book, though brilliantly written, is not all easy reading, but it deserves to be widely read by all who are dissatisfied with what is known as "the economic system."

J. A. Hobson.

SOUTH OF HITLER.*

This book, by a well-informed journalist who worked for many years in Vienna, presents an interesting and vivid picture of what happened in Central and South-Eastern Europe during the last twenty years. The reader will find a competent introduction to the constantly shifting political aspect of the regions between Vienna and Angora. As the author is also well acquainted with the situation in the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, he has been able to visualise his object from a broad historical point of view. This, for instance, enables him to connect, very correctly, National Socialism with the *grossdeutsch* movement of Hapsburg times. Already then, the " eternal student " Wolf and a bourgeois like Schoenerer actually created all the myths, slogans and ideas that constitute Hitler's panacea. German historical and political writers never mention this spiritual parentship. It is, however, of no small importance for an exact understanding of the ideological, social and political forces working within the Third Reich. As far as National Socialism bears the *petit bourgeois* imprint, its origin is to be found in pre-war Austria. One can, however, hardly agree with the author's opinion that the Pan-German ideal originated also in the Hapsburg Monarchy. The *alldeutsch* movement was characteristically German in its nature, and ideologically linked up with big industry.

Many of the problems at issue in Central and South-Eastern Europe are similar to those that were solved elsewhere during the nineteenth century. The Hapsburg Monarchy failed to solve them during the revolution of 1848 as well as afterwards. Economic unity had to be co-ordinated with democratic institutions which would safeguard the inalienable rights of men and nations. It is to be regretted that the author did not think it worth while to mention at least the constructive ideas on this problem put forward by writers and politicians of different persuasion, and especially the Socialists, Karl Renner and Otto Bauer. Even to-day they would prove to be useful for an appropriate understanding of the South-Eastern situation. The author makes it quite clear that the consequences of the Treaty of Trianon were disastrous for the economic life of the region. The leaders

* *South of Hitler.* By M. W. Fodor. Allen & Unwin Ltd. 10s. 6d.

of that time, and even a convinced democrat like Masaryk, saw the only way which would satisfy the legitimate demands of the different nationalities in splitting up the Hapsburg Monarchy into sovereign States, i.e. into separate economic units.

The Slav nations of Austro-Hungary as well as of the Balkans strove for independence; it is, however, open to debate whether this so-called Pan-Slav movement could actually be considered as aiming at political unity of all the Slav nations. In our opinion the author overestimates the purely national motives. Otherwise he could hardly consider Stambolisky's Bulgarian Peasant Party to have been imbued by Pan-Slav notions. It was primarily a peasants' movement, like that in most South-Eastern countries, Slav or non-Slav. The countries of South-Eastern Europe are about to become industrialised, and the peasants who, on the average, constitute three-quarters of their population are those who have to pay for it. In other words, the destruction of the large estates and the land reforms did not bring in their wake the ascendancy of the peasant class, but the rise of an industrial bourgeoisie which stands behind the dictatorships that have been set up in the Balkans. This very stimulating book gives cause to reconsider our conceptions. The future of the South-East is of great concern for the whole of Europe.

G. O. Gardener.

THE SILENT SOCIAL REVOLUTION.*

The year 1895, in which the Bryce Commission on Secondary Education presented its report, provides a convenient date from which to begin an account of the expansion of public education in England and Wales. Forster's Education Act of 1870 had been in operation for a quarter of a century. The extension of the school accommodation and the improvement in the education were having their effect upon the rising generation. Those who had had opportunity to observe the children throughout the period noticed "how roughness of manner has been smoothed away, how readily and intelligently they can answer a question, how the half hostile

* *The Silent Social Revolution.* By G. A. N. Lowndes. Humphrey Milford. 6s. net.

suspicion with which they regarded a stranger has disappeared; in fact, how they have become civilised." The contribution of the educational system to the social history of the country has been even more remarkable in the ensuing forty years. Mr. Lowndes's study is "based on the reading during the past seventeen years of many thousands of reports on schools of all kinds in every part of the country," in addition to a wide range of reports of official and voluntary bodies as well as numerous monographs and biographies, of which he provides an admirably complete bibliography. In dealing with this mass of material his aim has been to provide a living record of social progress. The result is a most readable volume in which the children and their teachers can be seen at work and play. The majority of children left school disciplined and well grounded in reading, writing and arithmetic. But they left too young, though the parents of some were beginning to realise the need for a longer school life and evening schools were increasing in popularity. Little, if anything, was done for the physically defective child, and the time had not yet come for the education authorities to be concerned with the health of the children. Secondary education was only nominally available. Mr. Lowndes estimates that "probably not more than thirty thousand out of a total of seventy-five thousand [in grammar schools] were as yet receiving an education which could be recognised either in point of quality or length of school life as a sound secondary education to-day." Into this inchoate medley of educational effort the Education Act of 1902 introduced order and defined responsibility for the establishment of a comprehensive system. Higher education has been organised and the methods of the elementary school have been revised almost beyond recognition, but the most remarkable feature has been the introduction of the school medical service. Moreover, Mr. Lowndes claims that "just as the school medical service has . . . become a principal foundation of national health, so the public system of education has become a principal foundation of practically every new activity in the community." The evidence in support of this claim is admirably presented in this volume which might be extended in a new edition to cover the century, to be completed next year, since the State first took an active interest in elementary education.

C. E. A. B.

THE ART OF THE ADMIRAL.*

Owing to the peculiar nature as well as the magnitude of the medium in which it has to move, naval strategy constitutes a complex of paradoxes infinitely more difficult to explain to the lay mind than those of land warfare. It is, therefore, a most ambitious as well as a highly topical task which Commander Grenfell has set before himself in trying, for the first time in the history of naval theory, to reinterpret the mysteries of this highly fascinating no less than important subject in a language and form capable of attracting the attention of the general reader. Wisely refraining from deterring his readers at the beginning by lengthy expositions of the wider aspect of naval strategy in its relations to the conduct of war as a whole, he has gone immediately to the heart of the matter by starting to examine in turn the elementary features: overseas expeditions, the attack and defence of trade and the defence against invasions; although in view of the peculiar nature of naval defence the whole would have become even more clear if he had given it precedence as the corner-stone of the structure and dealt with the attack afterwards.

As it stands the offensive aspect of sea-power, having been disposed of in advance, does not further receive that amount of attention that it would deserve even under present-day conditions; though this is somewhat offset by the strong emphasis rightly laid by the author upon the moral factor, related to but, as Commander Grenfell's study very clearly shows (Chapter X), by no means identical with the offensive factor. The further progress of his treatment, however, giving the reader step by step just that amount of information which he needs as the basis for the understanding of the next is an admirable bit of literary workmanship, the full value of which only a few will be able to estimate even amongst experts. Thus the discussion of the various fundamental aspects of naval strategy is followed by two very well conceived chapters on the "moral" element and an excellent one upon "the technique of victory," conspicuous above all by a very clear exposition of the problems involved in the nature of the objective in naval war. The concluding two chapters upon the influence of the air and the composition of

* *The Art of the Admiral.* By Commander Russel Grenfell. Faber & Faber. 12s. 6d.

fleets are just what they should be in a study with so wide an appeal: cautious estimates of the situation as it stands at present, without any violent fancies as to the future, yet not without a justified element of intelligent anticipation. Thus even from this short examination it can be seen that Commander Grenfell's study by no means restricts itself to the popularisation of existent doctrines; in fact its value as an original study, though less obvious, is hardly less great than its primary function. The only serious criticism that could be advanced against it is a defect of omission rather than of error. Commander Grenfell restricts his study exclusively to the examination of "naval" war as an independent act of war, whereas to-day the likelihood of such a purely "naval" war—rare enough in the old days—is practically nil and the importance of naval strategy lies in its contribution to the larger "maritime" strategy of the war as a whole. In the beginning the discussion of this point, as we remarked above, would have been apt to disturb and perplex; at the end it seems to us indispensable.

HERBERT ROSINSKI.

WORLD UNITY.*

In his latest book, *The World's Design*, Señor de Madariaga presents an analysis of the world situation and suggests proposals towards its solution which bear the full weight of his long and distinguished career in international affairs. With all his experience, he remains essentially an idealist believing in world unity as an eventual product of human endeavour. Whether the present situation is to become a progressive stage or another setback in historical progress is primarily a spiritual question.

Señor de Madariaga's argument follows familiar, though no less pregnant, lines. The world has failed to set up or to operate sincerely institutions to co-ordinate and supervise a host of problems which are no longer soluble by each State alone. In short, a stage of unity in human affairs, economic and otherwise, has been reached which is ahead of and inconsistent with the prevailing spirit of nationalism. The League itself is warped by the selfish aims and rivalries of competing national units, particularly the Great Powers.

* *The World's Design.* By Salvador de Madariaga. Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d. net.

Absence of a " truly collective spirit " in operating Article XI has been a fundamental weakness in the system of collective security. Señor de Madariaga has no use for sanctions under Article XVI because, apart from lack of essential American co-operation, they involve war. It is " a fundamental error " to imagine " that war can ever be a co-operative action." In applying sanctions, a State must inevitably look to its own interests. He cannot grasp that Great Britain was prompted by altruistic intentions in the Abyssinian question. " We know that British motives were mixed all along." He points to the reinforcement of the British fleet in the Mediterranean as an " impulsive and imperial gesture . . . at bottom far more in the style of the Italian aggression than in that of the sanctions against it." It is noticeable, however, that, while opposed to sanctions, Señor de Madariaga regards an international army under a world authority as " a consummation devoutly to be wished." Although he argues that " the main utility of a League army would be . . . its moral force," he is here approaching a thesis which elsewhere he resolutely opposes, namely that peace may be safeguarded by force. The need for an international force presupposes the permanent danger of delinquent States, even after the adjustment of grievances by a World Court, which the author advocates.

As an initial step towards the federal World Commonwealth, " all that is wanted " is " a solemn, clear, simple word from Great Britain " of belief in this conception. She would be joined by the United States in such " collaboration for peaceful aims " and also by France and other free States. With the announcement of the New Covenant, Great Britain and France must renounce the ex-German colonies ; the former " indirectly yet quite definitely " are the causes of the " Empire-Errantry " of Germany, Italy and Japan and they must remove the latter's jealousy and imitative spirit. The author envisages a World Mandates Administration which, beginning with the German colonies, will eventually govern all colonial territory. Nations bound to the New Covenant will aim at once " to organise on a world basis all that works already on a world basis," setting up international institutions such as a World Trade Commission, and a real World Bank. Señor de Madariaga concludes by pleading for a voluntary association as a centre for cultural co-operation

and the study of common problems. By such methods would germinate and grow a world consciousness and wish for collaboration even among ultra-nationalist and autarkist States.

SHORTER REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

Professor Gilbert Murray's little volume, *Liberality and Civilisation*,* consisting of lectures recently delivered under the auspices of the Hibbert Trustees at the Universities of Bristol, Glasgow and Birmingham, proclaims once again the gospel of Liberal Humanism of which the world stands desperately in need. The veteran scholar and publicist is a practical idealist, clinging tightly to the traditional values of Western civilisation, yet fully aware of the foes, old and new, which they have to fight. No one speaks more persuasively and with greater authority both on what Gladstone called "Real Liberality" and on the League of Nations, in which he continues to see the best hope of the world. Where all is good, special attention may be called to the last five pages, in which, in a world dominated by fear and degraded by the return of savagery, he summons us to build and rebuild our city wall, to keep our eyes open and our consciences alert, to resolve that our courage shall not fail.

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Those who have appreciated Sir Arnold Wilson's earlier books, *Walks and Talks* and *Walks and Talks Abroad*, will welcome his latest, *Thoughts and Talks, 1935-7*.† It records month by month between April 1935 and September 1937 multifarious impressions left on his mind in the course of a varied and vigorous life as a Member of Parliament. The reader will be interested not only in his comments, derived frequently from first-hand knowledge, on the major events of those years but in the numerous contacts and conversations with all types of ordinary people. Sir Arnold has a happy facility for seeking and ascertaining their feelings and outlook, even in chance conversation in the train. A volume of this kind is quite valuable as a medium of public opinion. The author's own views on numerous topics are also incidentally, but no less definitely, expressed. His attitude to problems abroad is well known and tends, as for example on Spain, to the Right. In home affairs "instinct and experience" also lead him in some measure "to the Left"; "for I am more in sympathy with Disraeli, the Tory Radical, in his outlook on society than with any of his successors."

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World Natural History, by Mr. E. G. Boulenger,‡ is a veritable treasure-house for a child. It will answer, too, many of the difficult

* Allen & Unwin. 2s. 6d. † Longmans. 12s. 6d. net. ‡ Batsford. 7s. 6d.

questions with which the harassed parent is bombarded when he takes his children to the Zoo. In an appreciative Introduction Mr. H. G. Wells refers to the book as a "brightly illustrated revival of that classic of my childhood," Wood's *Natural History*. There are 150 photographs and over two dozen drawings.

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The first volume of Witherby's *Handbook of British Birds* (single volumes 25s. net, the set 21s. net each. H. F. Witherby) shows at a glance that this new work, which is to be published in five volumes, is very much more than another edition of its predecessor, *A Practical Handbook of British Birds*. The headings under each species give a good idea of its very wide scope: habitat, field-characters (in which important diagnostic features are italicised) and general habits, voice, display and posturing, migrations, distribution abroad, a detailed description of the bird's various plumages, and finally a section on characters and allied forms. Moreover there is an excellent and unique series of coloured plates, showing each species in many plumages—where necessary male, female, summer, winter and juvenile. It is a pity, however, that some of these are too small to be of much assistance in the identification of a bird. The book is so well arranged that it will be of as much value to the beginner as to the professed ornithologist—which is saying a lot. So far as the latter is concerned, it may be mentioned that the authority for almost every statement is given. As regards the former, it will perhaps encourage him to learn that even in the case of the familiar house sparrow much of its display and posturing is still "not well understood." For not the least value of this excellent book lies in the fact that it points out the gaps in our knowledge as surely as the recent advances in field ornithology. Those gaps it will give every bird-lover a new incentive to fill.

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Mr. K. C. Wheare has written a new work on *The Statute of Westminster and Dominion Status** which supersedes an earlier essay published in 1933 and deals with subsequent developments. In the course of this important book, Mr. Wheare discusses both the significance of the Statute in the general field of imperial constitutional development and its place in relation to each of the Dominions.

In considering, for example, the legal status of Eire, he doubts whether the Statute conferred upon the Irish Free State the legal power to enact the new constitution. There are undoubtedly obscurities in the Statute, and though in this case interpretation is academic it may be of great importance in many instances. Professor W. P. M. Kennedy pleads for a liberal construction in the new second edition of his standard work, *The Constitution of Canada*,† which contains an extra Part dealing with the vital years of Dominion growth, 1922-37.

* Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. 10s. net.
† Oxford University Press. 25s. net.

Amendment of the British North America Act was, of course, expressly excluded from the ambit of the Statute and the question of conventional practice remains of great importance in view of the Canadian controversies relating to constitutional change. Mr. Wheare argues that there is "a usage of consultation" with the Provinces though no convention. Professor Kennedy declares it "idle to think" that the United Kingdom Government would delay legislation requested by the Dominion Government until provincial agreement were reached. Such view would seem largely to nullify the express proviso in the Statute. In Professor Kennedy's view constitutional amendment should be by way of Canadian legislation with safeguards, somewhat analogous to those in the United States. He would also abolish Privy Council appeals and substitute a great imperial tribunal upon the lines of the Hague Court. It ought to be added that Professor Kennedy agrees with the view of Mr. Justice Evatt that a Governor's exercise of the Royal Prerogative should be governed by definite legal regulations.

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In view of the negotiations for a commercial agreement with the United States, the Information Department of Chatham House has prepared a useful succinct Paper on *Anglo-American Trade Relations*.* It indicates, with the assistance of statistical summaries, the existing character of our trading relations and the concessions likely to be sought by either side and the obstacles to agreement. The Paper also considers the question of mutual concessions between the United States and the Dominions, particularly Canada and Australia, consequent upon the main Anglo-American Agreement. The world significance of the two nations' trading relations is also discussed, and the conclusion is reached that while direct economic benefits to other countries from an Agreement may be doubted, the indirect advantage "might be considerable."

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Mr. Percy Cohen has written a detailed and lucid exposition of *Unemployment Insurance and Assistance in Britain*† in a manner useful and informative to the general public. Lack of references in the text, however, makes it of less value to the student and specialist. The account is preceded by an historical outline which traces the vicissitudes and growth of the system from the first experimental provisions in the National Health Act, 1911, to its present stable and financially sound conditions. It is a bald, almost colourless, statement of historical facts which studiously avoids the political controversies from which the existing law has emerged.

* Royal Institute of International Affairs, St. James Square, London, S.W.1. 1s. net.

† Harrap. 8s. 6d. net.

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